

Imprimatur Doctissimus hic De  
Paradiso Terrestri Tractatus.

*Jo. Hall, Rev. in Christo Patri,  
Humphredo, D. Episc. Lond.  
à Sac. Domest. Apr. 3. 1666.*

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A  
 DISCOURSE  
 OF THE  
 Terrestrial Paradise,  
 AIMING  
 At a more probable DISCOVERY  
 OF  
 The true SITUATION of that happy  
 place of our First Parents Habitation.

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*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos  
 Ducit, ut immemores non finit esse sui. Ovid.*

*Ζήτησον Παράδεισον* — Orac. Magic. *a*

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*By Marmaduke Carver. c*

LONDON,

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DISCOVER  
OF THE  
Tentative  
AIMING  
Tentative DISCOVERY  
OF




Volume II — Old Map

LOANED  
THIRTY DAYS

T O

*The most Reverend Father in God,*  
**GILBERT;**  
*Lord Arch-bishop of CANTER-*  
*BURY, his Grace, Primate of all Eng-*  
*land and Metropolitan; and one*  
*of His MAJESTIES most Ho-*  
*nourable Privy Council.*

 **AY** it please Your Grace to  
vouchsafe the Patrocinie of  
Your great and worthy  
Name to this mean and un-  
polished Discourse, framed many years  
agoe upon a private occasion, and for  
private satisfaction onely; but passing  
into the hands of divers eminently fa-  
mous for their Piety, Learning, and Sta-  
tion in this Church, was by them ad-  
judged not unuseful to communicate to  
the Publick, as relating (though more  
remotely) to a Concern of the whole Ca-  
tholick Church, (I adde, the Jewish Sy-  
nagogue

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

nagogue also) in vindicating the truth of *Moses's* Description of the *Terrestrial Paradise* from the Blasphemies of Heathenish Infidels, (*Celsus, Porphyry, Julian the Apostate, &c.*) and the more Heathenish Christians of these later times, the Antiscripturists, who springing (as the *Spartæ* from the teeth of the Serpent, so these) from a prodigious mixture of Pharisaism and Sadducism, epidemically raging in these last years, (under various disguises) have arrived at length to that height of superlative Insolence, as (among other their Blasphemies) to propound the History of *Paradise* to scorn and derision, as a mere *Utopia*, or Fiction of a place that never was, to the manifest and designed undermining of the Authority and Veracity of the Holy Text: the conservation of which (next under his Sacred Majesty, the great *Defender of the Faith*) being by the Divine Providence intrusted to Your Grace, (whom he hath  
extra-

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

extraordinarily furnished with all excellent Gifts for the Government of so eminent a portion of his Catholick Church as this is of which he hath made Your Grace Overseer) I was encouraged, and soon after emboldned, (by the experience of Your generally-known and unparallel'd Clemency, Candor, and Condescension, not to have been expected by one so inconsiderable and a stranger) to advance to this presumption, to crave Your Grace's Patronage for what may herein be observed conducing to the Vindication thereof: Not altogether doubting (considering the Cause wherein I am ingaged) but that he who out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings perfecteth strength to still the enemy and avenger, may so level this pebble taken out of the bag of a poor Shepherd, as, if not to pierce the brow, yet to stop the mouth of that Goliath that blasphemeth the Hoast of the living God. For the many mistakes, errors and imper-

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

fections which every-where will betray the weakness of the Author, as I humbly crave Your Grace's and the Church's pardon and pity, as being not onely easie for me to fall into, but (considering the great disadvantages I labour under) morally impossible for me to avoid; so for the blame of them I am content (after much reluctance to the publishing of them) to charge my self with it, being not unwilling to sacrifice my own credit to save (though but in this one particular) the Credit of the Holy Scriptures. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Great Shepherd* of the Sheep, and *Arch-bishop* of our Souls, long preserve Your Grace, to the great good of his Church; and, having served Your Generation by the will of God, vouchsafe You that *Crown of Glory* that *fadeth not away*, reserved at his appearing for all that *faithfully serve him*: Which is the daily Praier of

Your Grace's humbly and affectionately devoted Servant,

M. Cornar.

To the Judicious and In-  
genuons Reader, especially the  
professed Divine.



*OW many Pens have been  
imploied in this Enquiry con-  
cerning the Place of the  
Terrestrial Paradise, and  
how much rubbish hath been digged up, and  
dust raised, to the great hindrance of dis-  
covering that which was so eagerly sought  
for by a multitude of contradictory Opini-  
ons, and some of them hardly reconcileable  
to Sense or Reason, is sufficiently known  
to all, and is too manifest by the Conse-  
quents. For while some have evacuated  
the Letter, to plant a Cabalistical or Allego-  
rical Paradise of their own, others sought  
for Paradise under the Orb of the Moon,  
or far above the tops of the highest Moun-  
tains, without the vierge of this habitable  
world ;*

## To the Reader.

world; and others taking it for the whole compass of the Earth, and others for this part, others for that, some under the Equinoctial line, and some under the Arctick Pole, or Antarctick Circle, some in the East-Indies, some in the West, some in Syria, some in Judæa, and some of late in France; (and indeed where not, where a wanton fancy or an ignorant impudence is pleased to place it?) and with no less absurdities vexing the four Rivers with incredible down-falls and uprisings, in so occult passages and strange distances, that to undertake in good earnest to confute them were to be mad for company: It is come to pass that the faith of very many hath been stumbled, and in some turned to so professed a despair of finding that place, that they count it not onely an impossibility, but an impiety, to attempt a discovery of it; (*Impie, locum quæris quem Deus occultum velit*, saith Pererius.) Though it cannot be denied that



## To the Reader.

that Moses did on purpose enlarge himself in so full and exact a Topography, (the like not to be found in the Scriptures, or scarce any Secular Author) to acquaint the men of his Age, (whereto his Description is fitted) and all succeeding Generations, with the true Situation of that Place. But (which is worst of all) beside the mischief hereby occasioned to Believers, it hath opened the mouths of Atheists and Infidels, to impeach the Holy Scriptures of falshood, who (both in former and latter daies) have hereby taken advantage to propound the History of Moses to be considered at no higher a rate then a mere Romance.

The first that I meet withall (after the Dotages of the School-men upon this Question were found so far unable to occur, as rather to foment this Scandal,) was Augustinus Steuchus Bishop of Eugubium, who, by the advantage of the Vatican Library, (whereof he was Keeper)

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per) did first (as himself saies in his learned Cosmopœia upon Genesis) undertake to assert the Description of Paradise to a Consonance of Historicall and Geographicall verity: And herein he was followed by divers Learned men: and in Anno 1581. the Divines of Lovain set out a Topographicall Description and Map of Paradise, (accordingly as he had hinted) about the Confluence of Tigris and Euphrates in Babylonia. But the Learned Franciscus Junius pursuing the overture of that Discovery, but pitching the place a little more to the North in the same Region, did with so much accurateness clear this Question, that the whole Church of God is much beholden to him for this, and not a little for other his Annotations relating to Sacred Geography, wherein I know none before him, and very few since him, that are to be admitted to a Competition of the honour of that service. And if that  
Worthy

## To the Reader.

Worthy man had been as happy in pitching upon the right place, as he was elaborate in his Description of Paradise, there would have needed no more to have been said upon this Argument, for satisfying that imbred desire we all are affected with, to know the Place of our First Parents Habitation, or to stop the mouth of the Enemy and Blasphemer.

In my younger years and first Tyrocinie in Divinity, while I was yet more patient of study, (my body not being then broken with so many and great infirmities as now it is, and for many years hath been) I was desirous (according to the means that I had) to satisfy my self in this Question. For though it be not of so high a nature but that many a good Christian, holding the mystery of Faith in a pure Conscience, may be ignorant of it without hazzard of his Salvation; yet I alwaies conceived that when we speak of Theology as a Science, (which is the Profession

## To the Reader.

feſſion of the Divine) whatſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath revealed in the Sacred Code, though of remoter concernment, belongs *ex officio* to our cogniſance and ſtudy. The Opinion of Junius having at that time ſo univerſally obtained, and (which is rare, and an argument of the great Veriſimilitude that it carried with it) being both approved and improved by Learned men of both Perſuaſions, (both Proteſtants and Papiſts) I ſaw great reaſon to acquieſce in it, as believing it might be made good againſt all oppoſitions; until, upon a ſtricter examination, ſome Doubts did ariſe, and afterwards multiply, to ſuggeſt a fear whether he might not have miſtaken his ground, and conſequently whether it might be ſafe to hazard the trial of this Queſtion upon thoſe Evidences which the place he pitched upon might ſeem to afford. And hereupon being brought again under an unquiet of mind, I was enforced to caſt about, and enquire

## To the Reader.

enquire whether some other place might not haply be discovered, that with greater probabilities might answer the Description of Moses: and having arrived to some satisfaction therein, it happened that, undertaking to preach through the History of the Creation before an Honourable Auditory, when that Paragraph of Paradise came in its course to be spoken to, giving an Interpretation according to the apprehensions I had entertained, which could not be without some reflexion upon Junius, (but briefly, and remembering my self to be in the Pulpit) a very Worthy Gentleman of happy memory, (Sir Richard Dyet, one of the Council in the North) well known and much honoured in those parts for his Prudence, Integrity and excellent accomplishment in all kind of Learning, having thoroughly digested the Opinion of Junius, as it is also farther managed by Sir Walter Raleigh, was pleased to entertain a debate with me  
about

## To the Reader.

about it, and for divers days to discuss the Question; till at length there was raised in him also a jealousy, that the Description of Junius was not so exactly adapted to that of Moses as he had apprehended; and thereupon desired me to draw up in writing what I had meditated upon the whole matter: which accordingly I did, having the benefit of the Library of the Cathedral-Church of St. Peters in York, and the great happiness and exceeding great advantage (never to be forgotten by me) of daily commerce with a Reverend, Pious, and Learned Divine, who both encouraged me to the undertaking, and prevailed with me to communicate the perusal of it to some others; by which means the notice and censure of it hath come into the hands of as worthy, judicious, grave, and every-way-eminent Divines, both for Learning and Piety, as this Church hath any, (and I think it hath many not to be equalled in the Christian world.)

It

## To the Reader.

It is now six and twenty years agoe and upward since the first (and onely) Copy was drawn up, with no intencion at all as then, and long time after, (till of very late) to publish it : in which space of time I have had occasion to observe divers collateral Testimonies, which might have been inserted into the Text for confirmation and illustration of many passages in the Discourse; but that I abhor the very thought of a new task; to the certain ruine of my health, already broken even to a disability of writing, otherwise then by the hand of an Amianuensis. And for this cause I have waved the advice of some, whom I have great cause to respect, perswading me to put it into the Latin Tongue, and to divide the continued Discourse into several Sections with their Summaries, for the more accomodate use and ease of the Reader, (for the supply of that defect I acknowledge to be wholly due to the favour and pains of a Friend,) being content to exhibit

a

## To the Reader.

hibit and submit it as it was in the first Copy, without any alteration at all, to the Judgment of this Church in which I was born, and in which, by the Grace of God, I serve, hoping for her Indulgence in faults upon the by, so I approve mine intention in the main, which is briefly this; That there was in Armenia Major a Region called Eden, in the Eastern part whereof there was and is a River, which with one entire Chancel having watered the place where the Earthly Paradise was planted, doth afterward branch it self into four Streams, each respectively running in the same Course, and through the same Countreys as Moses hath set them, and the Countreys themselves even in after-Ages retaining the same Names and Characters by which he hath described them. Each particular whereof if I have made good by the testimony of two or three  
credible



## To the Reader.

credible Witnesses, (for the Law requires no more, and I have brought no less;) I shall acknowledg I have attained what I aimed at, and shall contentedly bear the imputation of many other failings upon the by, which were impossible for me to avoid. For under that imperfect discovery which we have of those places where the scene of this Discourse lies, none of the Ancients having furnished us with Tables but onely Ptolemy, and his but imperfect ones, and few describing those Regions to any purpose, so that it was necessary to make up that defect by scattered Testimonies to be gathered here and there where I could find them, and to be managed many times by Conjectures; it will be no wonder if I become obnoxious to mistakes; and he shall forget his Interest in the common Humanity that shall be too rigorous in imputing them. Grant me, upon the Testimonies here produced, that Four such Streams as Moses

## To the Reader.

speaks of were acknowledged for real in after-Ages, and if I erre in the precise point of place where any of them breaks from the main Stream, or in the Decourse of it with all its gyres and windings, with the reception of other Rivers into it, and many such like, I shall willingly acknowledge such unavoidable mistakes, so the main chance be saved. And as I speak this with reference to the Map, which must serve as a Commentary to the Discourse, and was drawn by me as near as I could to the Tables of Ptolemy; so in the Discourse it self, in those larger Digressions which I make upon the Countries themselves through which those Rivers pass, I will not affirm that every Conjecture I make is infallible, or that I may not have erred in divers particulars incidental to the Illustrations which were necessary for me to prosecute: yet am I not onely willing, but desirous, to see those mistakes amended;  
and

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and have some hope that, by the help of those Learned men who have begun to open the treasures of the Orient unto us, particularly the Translation of the Arabick Geographers, much light may be fetched, as for rectifying what is amiss, so for confirming much of what I have observed; which howsoever it may appear New to the men of this Generation, I perceive by such Writings as have been translated since this Treatise was finished, hath obtained the credit of ancient and received Truth in those Eastern parts. And upon this occasion I could wish, that having so great helps from the knowledge of Tongues, plenty of Commentaries, and the like, a little more diligence might be added, as for perfecting Sacred Chronology, so for improving Sacred Geography; for want of which not only many excellent Treatises have suffered some blemishes, but a good portion of the Holy Text hath lain upon our hands

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unimproved; yea (which is saddest of all, and therefore most to be heeded) some places of Scripture have been carped at, and made use of by the Adversary, to elevate and disparage the credit of it self: as this very place which I have to discourse upon may serve for an Instance too notorious, which through the negligence of former times, in not making out the truth of it by the help of Geography, but blanching it over with Allegoricall, or impertinent and ridiculous Interpretations, hath suffered even to the imputation of a Fable, (for that is the usual style that Julian in his Blasphemous Rhetorickations is accustomed to bespatter the Writings of Moses withall.) And this giveth me often occasion to wonder, whence it should come to pass (except to palliate sloth, and ignorance thence arising) that matters of this nature should be so slighted, and accounted of by very many but as mere Parerga, or things of so minute  
and

## To the Reader.

and invaluable consideration as not to deserve our study : whereas it is certain that, without the help of Sacred Geography, the immediate Literal sense of the Text (which is the Basis of all true Interpretation) cannot in many places be made out, nor the History cleared, nor the Questions obviously presenting themselves discussed ; so that if any one stick morosely upon the spirit of any man unsatisfied, it is hardly credible what mischief this may amount to. For the wily Serpent, that early found a hole to creep into Paradise, if he can but get advantage upon such dissatisfaction to suggest a Temptation to discredit, or but doubt of, the truth of any Particle of Scripture, will by degrees improve it to a questioning, and at length a denying the truth of the whole. To quicken our industry to this study, we have not onely the example of the Ancients, who held it to be of singular use, ( as appears by Eu-

## To the Reader.

sebius's Book Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἑβραίων,  
which St. Hierom for that cause trans-  
lated into Latin, with divers additions  
of his own; ) but the great encourage-  
ment which these Times afford, by the  
favour of our most Gracious SOVE-  
REIGN, not onely countenancing,  
but effectually promoting, the advance-  
ment of all kind of Learning: By means  
whereof as the Book of Nature may  
seem to have received a new Edition by  
the farther Discoveries of the Secrets  
of Philosophy; so no doubt the Book of  
the Scriptures also may receive much  
light, for the farther discovery of many  
useful Truths, both in the History and  
Mystery, that have not yet been so heed-  
fully attended to. An evident Specimen  
whereof we have in the Writings of the  
Learned Bochartus, and the hopeful Over-  
tures already begun, and successfully pro-  
secuted, by our alike-learned Dr. Light-  
foot.

But

## To the Reader.

But I fear (courteous Reader) lest by this time I may have tired thy patience with this long Preface, which yet was requisite for me to write, and thee to read; that I might acquaint thee with the motives and manner of my proceeding in this Discourse, and thou mightest be prepared to entertain it with the more Candor: which notwithstanding I desire not to improve beyond its due bounds, or to prejudice the freedom and liberty of thy Judgment: for as I have dealt with Junius, I am content, yea desire, to de dealt withall myself. But then I must adjure thee not to mistake my dealing with him: for if thou should'st imagine that I quarrel with him upon the main matter, thou shalt wrong both him and me and thy self. I look upon Junius as the ablest Assertor of the Cause I contend for, and from whom I received the Light by which I was enabled to search into this Question: It is not the truth of the History of Paradise that I have to debate

## To the Reader.

bate with him, but the Situation of it onely in respect of the place, and the accommodation of Moses's Description to it; in which if I have found some reasons (and here thou hast them) to believe that he might be mistaken, and thereupon have been bold to transferr the materials to be set up in a more convenient place, I have but followed the example of Junius himself, (who in like manner dealt with those that went before him) and reserve a free liberty to every man to vindicate his Opinion from the Objections that the Adversary may be able to make against it, (which shall be most grateful to me) or himself to prompt us to a more probable place then this I have pitched upon; which though I will not assert upon so high terms as to pass my word that I have not erred, yet I have not had as yet any prevailing argument to move me to distrust but that I may have pitched upon the right.

And



## To the Reader.

And all this may be done without giving any advantage to the common Adversary, who (how impudent so ever) can with no more pretence of reason draw this into consequence, that there was no such place as Paradise, or so situated as Moses had set it, because we are not yet fully agreed upon that very spot of ground where it was; then that there was no such City in Persia as Persepolis, destroyed by Alexander, because such as have undertaken to give us an account of the Situation of it conformable to such Characters as ancient Historians have described it by, are not yet agreed upon their Verdict, whether it was Shivaz, or Estacher; or that there were no such Colonies of the Romans here in England as Lindum, Cambodunum, and many more, because our Antiquaries are at variance in describing the places where they stood, some placing them in one place, some in another.

## To the Reader.

ther. As for thy part, (Christian Reader, for such I here suppose thee to be, believing the infallible Veracity of the Holy Scriptures) it will be no point of wisdom in thee to smite thy Friends, to gratifie thy Adversaries : Our Contentions are no more but a farther advance in clearing and vindicating the Holy Text, in which thou and the whole Christian (yea and Jewish) Church are equally ingaged as well as we : nor had this Discourse of mine ever (with my consent) seen the light, had I not lately been provoked thereunto upon this very Question by the unsufferable Insolence and Insultation of some Antiscripturists, a Generation of men lately sprung up amongst us, and growing very numerous and exceeding bold, owing their extraction to the most virulent poison of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, (the perpetual Pests of true Religion) now complying together in a mystical mixture, and much improved by the effectual

## To the Reader.

Equal working of the spirit of Antichrist in a multitude of confused Sects (both Fanaticks and Pro-fanaticks,) freely domineering in these late years, and (however disagreeing among themselves) yet agreeing all together in this, to subvert the Foundation of Faith & the Power of Godliness; such as are our Familists, Antinomians, Libertines, Hobbians, Ranters, Quakers and Seekers, beside a great number of many others, who (though not so directly and immediately) have by their pernicious and seditious Doctrines contributed not a little to promote this Mystery of Iniquity, and to make way for the birth of this Monster that now begins to appear upon the stage, (a Monster more prodigious then Asrick ever bred) to wit, a Christian Atheist, acting all the parts of an avowed Infidel under an Hypocritical (and therefore more odious) outside of a baptized Believer, professing Religion for no other end but to jear it, and reading the  
Bible

## To the Reader.

Bible for no other end but to blaspheme it; whom to discover and oppose I doubt not but every good Christian, whose heart is touched with any zeal for the Honour of God and his Holy Truth, will take himself equally concerned to engage with me to the utmost of his power. As for those whose custom it is (as Sir Thomas More hath observed long agoe) to make themselves merry upon their Ale-bench with the Writings of others, and think themselves extremely witty if they can break a scurrilous jest (the Evaporation of Drink and a profane spirit) either upon the Argument or the Author; as we are willing to take notice of them among the former company, so for their Censure we referr them to the Judgment of him who will take an account of every idle word that men shall speak; in the mean time wishing them more sobriety.

And now (good Reader) I shall keep thee no longer from the perusal of this  
Dis-

## To the Reader.

Discourse, (lately mine, but now made  
thine) onely desiring that we may all  
double our Praiers to the God and  
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that  
he would inspire continually the Uni-  
versal Church with the Spirit of  
Truth, Unity, and Concord; and  
grant that all they that do confess  
his Holy Name may agree in the  
truth of his Holy Word, and live in  
Unity and godly Love: And especially  
those whom he hath appointed to watch  
over the Souls of his people, that they  
may attend faithfully to the Ministry  
which they have received of the  
Lord to fulfill it, by contending ear-  
nestly for the Faith that was once de-  
livered to the Saints, and opposing vi-  
gorously, with united hearts and hands,  
those overflowings of Atheism and Un-  
godliness that are breaking in upon us,  
like a mighty Torrent, and by asserting  
the Truth of God and his Holy Word in  
the

## To the Reader.

the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit and power, confirming such as stand, and supporting those that are ready to fall, by removing *stumbling-blocks* out of the way of the weak, stopping the mouth of the Adversary, and plucking up the Tares which the Enemy hath sown; endeavouring (as much as in us lieth) to present every man blameless at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his Wheat into his garner, but the Chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

AMEN.

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### Errata.

Pag. Lin.

14. 25. Hededis, r. Hedenis.


16. 3. 7777, r. 7777.

A  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
The Terrestrial Paradise.

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CHAP. I.

*The Opinion of Junius concerning the  
place of Paradise proposed.*

HE Opinion of *Junius* concerning the place of *Paradise* (which is almost generally followed by all *Interpreters* since his time, not *Protestants* only, (both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*) but even the most ingenuous and learned *Papists*) is, that it was situated in *Chaldea*, in the Region which *Ptolemy* calleth *Auranitis*, which he supposeth by the change of a letter to have been corrupted from *Andanitis* or *Edenitis*. The River watering it he takes to be the main stream of *Euphrates*,  
B which

## A Discourse of

which toward the end of his course divideth it self into four branches. The first towards the West, which divideth berwixt *Chaldea* and *Arabia* the desert (which *Moses* calleth the land of *Cush*, or, as we (with others) *Ethiopia*) is that which *Ptolemy* calleth *Baar-sares*, *Strabo* *Maar-sares*, *Ammianus* more corruptly *Marsias*, *Abydenus* *Ἀβυδένος*, because it emptieth it self into certain Fens abounding with Frogs, which the *Chaldeans* call *Akrukan*: and this he supposeth to be that which *Moses* calleth *Gihon*, the signification of their names so well agreeing, which in both is as much as *Alveus*, *fossatúmve deductum atque distractum*. The second branch is that which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, and is by *Ammianus* *κατ' Ἑβραίων* called *Euphrates*, and therefore without straining supposed to be *Moses's* *פַּרְו*. The third is that which *Pliny* saith the *Affyrians* commonly called *Armalchar*, *Ammianus* (more truly) *Nahar-malca*, *Abydenus* by a Metathesis *Ἀρμαχέλαν*, and is the very same put into Greek which *Ptolemy* calleth *Βασιλῶος ποταμός*. This he conceiveth to be *Pishon*, which breaking from the main stream at a Town (taking name therefrom) called by *Ammianus* *Macepraeta* (or, as he would have



### *the Terrestrial Paradise.*

3

have it read, *Maja-prakta*) by *Pliny* *Massice*, and running into the River *Tigris* at *Apa-mea*, not onely mingleth his water, but his name with it, which from thenceforth is called *Pasitigris*, or *Pisatigris*, and entering the *Persian* Gulph at *Teredon*, watereth by the way the whole Region of *Havila*, where there is *Gold*, *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx-stone*; that is (as he expoundeth it) the Country of *Susiana*, where all those precious things are to be found. The fourth and last branch, called by *Moses* *Hiddekel*, he supposeth to be that Rivolet mentioned (but without name) by *Ammianus*, which being drawn out of *Nahar-malca*, emptieth it self into *Tigris* at *Selencia* and *Ctesiphon*, and so runneth Eastward toward *Assyria*, as he rendreth *Moses* words, *Gen. 2. 14*. These four Heads, all drawn from the same River, suiting so handsomely with the description of *Moses*, besides the incredible fruitfulness of the Eastern part of this Region, (where he conceiveth the very *Garden-spot* to have been) so highly extolled by divers Authors of good credit, work over the exact judgment of this learned man to so firm a belief that this was the very place created by God for the habitation of our first Parents, that he doubteth not to conclude his exact

## A Discourse of

and elaborate Discourse with this confident close, *Atque hic quidem Hedenis situs, qui meâ sententiâ tam manifestus est, & documentis certis confirmatus, ut a nemine in dubium vocari possit.* Comment, in Gen. c. 2.

## CHAP. II.

Junius his Opinion examined, and the weakness of the Conjecture from the name Auranitis manifested.

**B**UT (by the leave of so worthy a man) though a great verisimilitude present it self in this Description at the first sight, yet being more narrowly examined, so many Scruples arise to counter-sway our belief as may justly retard our assent, and suggest very great causes of doubting. For, 1, what he bringeth from the name of the Region *Auranitis* for *Audenitis* or *Edenitis*, by mistaking *p* for *d*, this is but *gratis dictum*, and a Conjecture (for I think he esteemed it no more) of no great probability: for though errors in transcriptions be very common, (in which regard Conjectures sometimes become very useful)

*Scimus, & hanc veniam petimûsque  
damûsque vicissim;*

yet

yet this doth not appear to have any solid ground, because *p* and *q* are *litera contrarii ductus*, the one drawn downward, the other upward; which kind of mistakes as they are not so easie, so neither are they so usual. Besides, the name of this Region is diversly delivered out of *Ptolemy*, none of which much favoureth this Conjecture. *Ortelius* in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus* calleth it *Auramitis*, *Maginus's* Edition of *Ptolemy* hath it *Anchanitis*; and I should suppose (for we are but upon conjectures) that this should come nearest the true reading, the depressed draught of the upper part of *q* (frequent in Manuscripts) being mistaken for a ligature with the following *i*, i. e. *Jl* for *vi*, and so the true name might haply be *Auchaditis*, or *Achaditis*, from the City *Accad*, one of the first four which *Nimrod* built in this Province, the Land of *Shinar*, *Gen. 10.* which ancient name might still continue to the Region, though the City it self changed its name (yet a name (as I suppose) either of the same or equivalent signification in the Chaldee tongue.) *Hieronym. Trad. Heb. in Gen.* Achad, *qua nunc dicitur Nisibis. Idem de loc. Heb.* Achad *urbs regni Nimrod in Babylone. Porro Hebraei hanc esse dicunt*

Mesopotamiæ civitatem, qua hodie quoque vocatur Nisibi, à Lucullo quondam Romano Consule obsessam captamque, & ante paucos annos à Joviniano Imperatore Persis traditam. But I cannot assent to S. Hierom's Rabbies, that Achad built by Nimrod was Nisibis under Mount Masius in Mesopotamia, for that is out of the Vierge of the Land of Shinar, but another in Chaldaea upon the River Euphrates, divers times mentioned by Josephus, especially *Antiq. lib. 18. c. ult. circa initium. Neardæa dicitur urbs Babylonix, frequens populo, & agro fertili, qui tantam multitudinem possit alere: ad hæc non patet hostium assultibus, cincta fluentis Euphratis & firmissimis mœnibus. Eidem flumini est & Nisibis apposita: and again, circa finem ejusdem cap. Plerique (Judæorum) in Neardam & Nisibin se receperunt, securitatem suam reponentes in earum munitionibus, quæ alioquin etiam habitantur à viris bellicocissimis;* for it was a Frontier-town and a Garison, as the name imports. *Gen. c. 10. v. 10.* But this we are content shall pass for a surmize onely, not an assertion, as intending here no more but to oppose one Conjecture against another.

## CHAP. III.

*A second Inconvenience of Junius his Account, as not suiting with Moses's description of the Rise of the River of Paradise.*

2. **A** More considerable Doubt ariseth from the River, which *Moses* affirmeth to take its spring out of *Eden*, and having watered the Garden with one entire channel, *ab inde*, after that it divideth it self into four Heads. Thus much *Lambert*, *Danæus* in *Antiq.* diligently weighing the Text of *Moses* hath judiciously observed; to whom *Alstedius* (though a precise follower of *Junius's* Topography) doth assent. His words are these, *Encyclop. l. 20. Historic. c. 11. Rectè igitur Lambertus Danæus in Antiquitatibus ait, quatuor illa flumina fuisse unius & ejusdem aqua sive fluvii ex Edene regione nascentis divortia seu brachia; Et addit, Fontem istum & fluvium ex eo emanantem in Edene regione, antequam se in divortia illa quatuor diduceret, Hortum illum terrestrem irrigasse, & quidem totum adhuc & non divisum: postquam autem totum Hortum*

B 4

irriga-

*irrigaverat, tunc se infra Hortum in quatuor ista flumina divisisse.* How this can agree with the Description of *Funius*, I see not; for, in his opinion, the Garden of *Eden* was placed in the utmost corner of *Chaldaea*, in an Island made by *Nabarmalca* and *Tigris*. These are his words, *Fuit igitur Hedenis hortus, non in ea parte Hedenis quae cis Babylonem est, sed in orientali parte trans Babylonem situs secundum Basilium & Tigrim fluvium, ubi fertilissimus est totius Orientis ager.* But *Euphrates* ere it attain thus far hath spent all its divisions, being it self ready to be swallowed up of *Tigris*, who here intercepts a great part of his waters, and carrieth them with him into the *Persian Gulf*, leaving him no further place for after-divisions: which that he (or at least his follower *Alstedius*) who hath transcribed and approved the observation of *Danaus*, should not take notice of, might well be wondered at, if a second error (or slumber rather) no less strange did not at the same time equally possess them both, about the Head of this River, which *Moses* plainly affirmeth to have its rise in *Eden*, and having watered the Garden, afterward to divide it self. Now Geographers commonly place the

the Head of *Euphrates* in the Northern part of *Armenia major*, where at its first rise it is called *Pyxirates* say *Strabo* and *Pliny*, or rather (as *Junius* himself corrects them) *Puc-perath*, i.e. *profusio Euphratis*, from which place to the nearest part of *Anranitis* in *Babylonia* is above 7 degrees distance, which make up 400 miles and above : all which space of ground having coursed through with a large circle, he is so far from meeting any Paradise, when entering *Babylonia* he is about to divide his Channels, (as according to *Moses's* description he ought) that contrariwise he hasteneth through as unfruitful a piece of ground as any on the face of the Earth, having *Arabia Deserta* on the right hand, and the no less barren Deserts of *Mesopotamia* on the left, as by experience they have found who have led Armies that way; witness *Xenophon* in the Expedition of *Cyrus*, *Ammianus* and *Zosimus* in the Expedition of *Julian*, &c. *Junius* may seem to have had some foresight of this Objection as ready to incounter him, and therefore in favour of his opinion he translates *NE* in *Gen. 2. 10.* not *exit* (though he ingenuously confess that is the proper importance of the Hebrew word) but *procedit*, as willing to perswade us that  
*Moses*

Moses did not mean, that the River had its spring in *Eden*, (for that he knew and confesseth to be altogether irreconcilable with his description) but onely that it did proceed or pass through it: Therefore he giveth us this Note, *Non oritur quidem (nam Euphratis ortus in Caranitide Armeniæ majoris Præfectura est, ubi Puc-perath, id est, profusio Euphratis appellatur, non autem Pyxirates, ut legitur apud Strabonem, & Plinium libro quinto Natur. histor. cap. vigesimo quarto,) sub radicibus montis quem Capoten incolæ nominant, sed delapsus per varios anfractus Hedenem usque procedit quatuor alveis sive capitibus, ut deinceps ostenditur. Quamobrem procedit potius quam exit malimus interpretari causâ evidentia.* But doubtless the Text would have been more clear if he had translated it faithfully as he found it, and not plaid the Paraphrast in stead of the Interpreter, especially in the very body of the Text. No man knew better then *Junius*, that the proper signification of *נָחַל* is to issue forth, as children in the birth doe out of the wombs of their mothers, whereunto (in regard of that *proluviæ, quam simul cum fœtu profundere solet puerpera*) God himself compareth the first issuing forth of the Sea

at



at its creation, *Job* 38. 8. And if the native propriety of the word in this place be not sufficient to evince it, the preposition מִן following in מֵעֵרָן puts it out of doubt; for the proper use of that particle is to denote *motum a loco*, not *per locum*, or *ad locum*; nor doth the holy Ghost, when he would signifie the decourse of a River by, through, or to a place, express it by מִן וְאֵל, but by וְהָבֵא אֵלַי, as *Ezra* 8. 15. True, our learned Country-man Mr. Fuller hath *Miscel. l. 1.* observed 2 (and but onely 2) places in the <sup>6. 4.</sup> old Testament, where מִן may seem to denote *terminum ad quem*, viz. *Gen.* 13. 11. and 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. But seeing the circumstances of the place seem to require it in the one, and an express character in the Hebrew text in a parallel place 1 *Chron.* 13. 6. doth warrant it in the other, lest any should wrest this improper use to the prejudice of the undoubted signification of this particle in other places, he subjoyns this Caution: *Rarus est hic usus particula istius in Hebraea quidem lingua, in Arabica vero frequens, &c.* And strange it is, that *Juvius* having in the Text changed *exit* into *procedit*, should not also have changed *ex* into *usque*; for what unprejudicate Reader taking his Text without his gloss,

*Fluvius*

*Fluvius autem procedit ex Hedene*, but would from the obvious importance of the words collect, that the original of this River was in *Eden*? certainly, *exit ex* can import nothing else.

## CHAP. IV.

An examination of the four Channels mentioned by Junius, and first of the upper Stream of Nahar-malca.

3. **A**S the main Stream is not able to wash it self from all Doubts, so neither the Channels; which are like to meet with such obstructions, as may endanger to turn them quite out of Paradise. For not to question the number of the Rivers, (though undoubtedly *Euphrates* had more drainings; Those *flumina*) *Babylonia*, *Psal.* 137. 1. where the Captive *Israelites* sat, were (perhaps) none of these, especially if the testimony of *Alexander Polyhistor* be true, *apud Euseb. Prap. Evang. l. 9. c. ult. Temporibus*, inquit, *Joachim, Hieremias prophetavit, qui missus à Deo, cum Judæos aureo simulachra, cui nomen erat Baal, sacrificantes reperisset, futuram eis propter hoc calamitatem pradixit; unde Joachim vi-*

vum jussit cremari. Illum autem dixisse, Foveas ipsos à Rege Assyriorum captos juxta Tigridem atque Euphratem eisdem lignis facturos. The River *Sud*, *Baruch* 1. 4. the River *Chebar*, so often mentioned in *Ezekiel's Visions*, whether they were any of these four, and which of them, or rather none of them, I know not. *Ammianus* himself, quoted by *Junius*, tells us that one of these Rivers (*viz.* that which runs through *Babylon*) was subdivided into other three, all navigable. *Perflunt has eandem terras, potiores ante alios omnes ij quos pradiimus, & Marfias, & Flumen regium, & Euphrates cunctis excellens: qui tripartitus per omnes rivos navigabilis est, insulasque circumflumens, & arva cultorum industriâ diligentius rigans, vomeri & arbutis gignendis habilia facit.* But because many Authors of good credit have agreed upon this number of four, especially *Xenophon* (though he mis-call *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris*) and *Geograph. Nub.* who gives an exact account of them all; therefore (with thanks to *Junius* for his accurate pains in opening to us the Chorography of this Region) we subscribe to this partition, as containing (though not all, yet) the most remarkable branches of *Euphrates*:

*phrates*: but to accept them as the four Heads of the River of Paradise, we cannot; for a main prejudice lieth against most of them, that they are of a later date then to reach the antiquity of that place, yea some of them fall short of the age of *Moses*. Thus much the Authors themselves alleadged by *Junius* clearly testifie, acknowledging them to have been manufactitious, and drawn out of the main Stream by the industry of men. To insist a little upon the particulars *ordine retrogrado*. The upper Stream of *Nahar-malca*, which falleth at *Seleucia* into *Tigris*, and from it (as *Junius* supposeth) borroweth the name of *Hiddekel*, is so inconsiderable a Rivolet, that ancient Geographers (taking it onely for an *Aqueduct*, as indeed it was no more) have made no mention of it among the branches of *Euphrates*, and therefore assigned that Eastern Island (where he imagineth the Garden to have been) to *Mesopotamia*, not to *Babylonia*. His own words are these. *Chiddekel, Hededis à Septentrione terminus, propriè quidem significat Tigrin, hic autem synecdochicè denotat superiorem Nahar-malcæ vel Basilli alvenum, qui supra Seleuciam influit in Tigrin, & nomen ejus mutatur*:

tuatur: quem alveum prisci Geographi manufactum fuisse rati non retulerunt inter Euphratis alveos; sed potius insulam quam Euphrates cum Tigri efficit à Seleucia Apameam usque Mesopotamiæ, ac non Babyloniam, tribuerunt. That all this is true, Ptolemy is a sufficient witness, who therefore makes but three branches of Euphrates, as acknowledging this for a Pseudo-river, and not worth the mentioning. Nor is there any great likelihood (in my opinion) of that Conjecture, that the name *Hiddekel* which Pliny giveth *Tigris* (not when it passeth by *Seleucia*, but at its first rise in *Armenia*, remote many hundred miles Northward from this place) should diffuse it self into this River, which is not of his progeny, but the degenerate off-spring of another. However (I am perswaded) it is beyond all example that one River should adopt the name of another, before it mingle its waters with it; for if so, then might *Nabar-malca* also put in for a title to this name, seeing that in like manner emptieth it self into *Tigris* at *Apamea*. But if *Hiddekel* in *Moses* be the same (as in all probability it was) with that mentioned by *Daniel*, and where he saw some of his most famous Visions, *Dan. 10. 4.* then is the pre-

pretence of this Rivolet to that name rendered yet more suspicious: for *Daniel* tells us that *Hiddekel* was הוּדַל הַגָּדוֹל, a great River, the amplitude of which Epithet all the waters in this Channel are not able to fill; for it was not full 5 miles long, and for the most part dry, as being drawn at the first, and afterward opened, onely upon occasion. The first Author of it (as *Ammianus* testifieth) was the Roman Emperour *Trajan*, who caused it to be cut, to waft his Navy out of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*; for which cause it was opened again by *Severus*, and after him by *Julian*, when the *Persians* had stopped it up. This date falleth far short of the age of *Moses*, as (I think) that translation doth of his meaning, where קְדָמָה אֲשׁוּר is rendered *ad Orientem Assyriam versus*, for there is neither preposition nor a local, to make room for *versus* in this place, nor doth that general and ambiguous note, *fluere ad Orientem Assyriam versus*, (which may be said as well of other Rivers as of this) sute any thing well with the exactness of *Moses's* description. Therefore they that keep close to the Hebrew, render it either *ante Assyriam*, or *ad Orientem Assyria*, as doth our English Translation: which if it be true, (as for my  
part

part I think it is) then is this Rivolet clearly cashier'd out of *Moses's* Chorography, as whose course is wholly terminated to the West of *Assyria*, if yet it do indeed reach any part of *Assyria* at all; that *Assyria* (I mean) which the Scripture properly calleth so. For though *Ptolemy* draw down the bounds of *Assyria* as far South as *Ara Herculis*, yet the Scripture (when it speaketh of the Country, not of the Kingdom) seemeth to give this name properly to that Region alone that lieth about *Ninive*; so doe secular Authors. *Strabo* l. 16. circa initium: 'Εν ᾧ τῇ ὁρίᾳ τοῦ Λύχου, τὰ τ' Ἀτυρίας ἡδὲ τῇ Νινυὶ ἐφικνται, Trans Lycum Aturiæ campi Ninum circumjacent. *Dion* in Trajano: Romani flumen trans-eunt, Adiabeneque omnem, qua pars Assyriæ ad Ninum pertinuit, in suam potestatem redigunt: Ad hac Arbela atque Gaugamela, ubi Alexander olim Darium superaverat, capiunt: ea Attyria nominatur, literâ Sin Tâ Barbaris commutata. *Pliny* maketh it altogether the same with *Adiabene*, l. 5. c. 12. Ultra Armeniam Adiabena, Assyria antè dicta. Now there is no part of *Adiabene* so far South as *Seleucia* (where this River falleth into *Tigris*) by  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a Degree, that is, 40. miles, in which space

the *Campi Cancha* (as I take it) are placed by *Niny*, and the Region of the *Garamai* by *Ptolemy*; which puts off the Current of that River at so considerable a distance from the ancient *Assyria*, that I question how even his own Translation can be verified of it, *Fluit ad Orientem Assyriam versus*. But if this Translation could be justified to be unquestionable, *Funius* (in my opinion) might with much more probability have made choice of another River rather than this, upon which to bestow the name of *Hiddekel*, viz. that which *Herodotus* speaketh of l. 1. n. 193. *Babylonica Regio omnis (quemadmodum Aegyptiaca) dissecta est in fossas, quarum maxima navibus transiri potest, ad solstitium hybernium vergens*. Εὐφράτης ὁ ποταμὸς ὁνομαστός ἐστι τῷ Εὐφράτῳ ὃς ποταμὸς Τίγρις, ὃς δὲ Νῆρος ποταμὸς ἐκείνα, Exit autem ex Euphrate in Tigrin alterum flumen, ad quod urbs Ninus sita erat. If his meaning indeed be, that there was such a River, as running out of *Euphrates*, emptieth it self into *Tigris* over against *Ninive*, this would suite better with his description, being (as might seem) a River of some note, and falling more exactly upon that point of the Compass that his Translation hath set it. But the truth is,



is, this River also is very questionable, as having no other authority but the single Testimony of *Herodotus* to assert it.

CHAP. V.

That *Nahar-malca* it self was none of the Four Rivers of Paradise, but an Artificial Chanell.

2. **A**S the Daughter-stream is found to be far under age to claim an inheritance among the Rivers of Paradise; so the Mother *Nahar-malca* (for out of it was it drawn) will hardly come off with her title upon the same trial. The verdict of *Pliny* is full against it, giving us a hint of the time when it was cut, and expressly naming the party by whom, *Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 26. Sunt qui tradunt Euphratem Gobaris Præfecti opere diductum, ubi cum diximus findi, ne præcipiti cursu Babyloniam infestaret; ab Assyriis verò universis appellatum Armal-char, quod significat Regium flumen.* Who this *Gobares* was *Pliny* acquaints us not: but seeing the name is *Persian*, and the man himself was but a Prefect, not a King, he intimates clearly enough, that this Current was cut during the time of the *Persian*

Monarchy, at the charges indeed of some of their Kings, (and therefore had the name of *Nahar-malca*) but under the care and oversight of *Gobares* his Lieutenant in those parts: for had it been cut in the time of any of the Kings of *Babylon*, not his cost only, but his name also (in all likelihood) would have been remembred in this work. Now it is well known that the same year in which the *Babylonians* came under the dominion of the *Persians*, the *Israelites* were released from their Captivity by the Edict of *Cyrus*, to which time from the death of *Moses* there had passed (by certain calculation) no less then 916 years; all which time (and long before) this River (it seems) had no existence *in rerum natura*, and therefore could not be taken notice of in the book of *Genesis*. *Junius* could not be ignorant how apt this scruple was to arise in the mind of the Readers, upon his producing the testimony of *Pliny*, and therefore seeks to elude the force of it, by suggesting a suspicion, that it was but a popular and uncertain Tradition; for, giving the reason of the name *Nahar-malca*, he tells us it was so called, *quod alveum hunc studio operaque Regum fuisse ductum putaret vulgus*. But sure they were not the *Vul-*  
gus

gus that *Pliny* meant by *Sunt qui tradunt*, but such Authors as, having written the Description and History of those parts, he makes use of, and now and then names some of them, in his Works. For that *Pliny* had this report from the Natives of *Babylonia*, is without all warrant: and if he had, yet seeing they lived upon the place, and had reason to be acquainted with such passages happening in their own Country; their deposition for the affirmative ought in justice to be received before the negative of any man whatsoever, living in an age and place so far remote. The Learned *Scaliger* was so fully satisfied of the truth of *Pliny's* relation concerning the cutting of this River by *Gobares*, that he suppoeth (by an easie change of *G* into *C*) it took from him also (as the Author) the name of *Cobar*, and was (in his opinion) the very same with *Cebar* in *Ezechiel*, where the captive *Israelites* were placed. But though I cannot (for some reasons) subscribe to this Opinion of *Scaliger*, yet is it far more probable then the Opinion of *Fu- nius*, who affirms it to be *Pison*, for betwixt *Nahar-malca* and *Pison* there is no affinity, neither in sound nor signification. Nor is that surmise (for it is no more) of

any validity at all to prove that ever this River inherited the name of *Pison*, because after its joyning with *Tigris* it gives it the name of *Piso-tigris*; for though divers Authors have spoken of *Pasi-tigris*, yet that it should receive that name from its commixture with this River, not one. The testimony of *Pliny* quite overthrows it, for he draws the original of this compound name, not from *Tigris* commixing with any Stream of *Euphrates*, but from the reuniting of his own divided waters; for about 125 miles to the North of *Seleucia* he parts himself into two, and having run all that space in several Channels, *ubi remanere aqua*, (saith he) *Pasitigris appellatur*. And if we desire to know whereabout that was, that which he subjoyns intimates that it was at, or about *Seleucia* and *Cresiphon*, for presently he adds, *Atque (ut diximus) inter Seleuciam & Cresiphontem velletus, in lacus Chaldaicos se fundit*: now this was near upon 60. miles above that place where *Nabar-malka* falls into his Channell. And indeed if *Havila* be *Susiana*, (as *Junius* expounds it) the name of *Pison* must be drawn up thus high at least, or else it will not answer that which *Moses* testifieth of it, that it compasseth the whole Land of *Havila*: For  
 though

though *Ptolemy* (as we have said) point the North-bound of *Susiana* at *Ara Herculis*; yet if that be true which was observed, that the ancient *Assyria* was equal onely with the bounds of *Adiabene*, all that Region which lieth South thereof must be assigned to the ancient *Susiana*: but then *Nahar-malca* is so far from compassing it, that it washeth not much more then half part of the Western Coast thereof, and that not in an entire Chanel of its own, but as a small addition of a far greater River receiving it, which therefore may in reason challenge the honour of this mention before it. But the truth is, *Junius* is mistaken, in taking *Susiana* for *Havila*; for there is no authority produced, nor probable conjecture alledged to approve it, save onely that there is in this Region *Gold*, *Bdellium*, and the *Onyx-stone*; all which because we hope hereafter to find, with better proof, in the true *Havila* that *Moses* meant, we remit the farther prosecution of that question to its proper place. Onely here let us adde, that seeing these two Rivers have appeared so exceeding doubtful, *Junius* had no cause to accuse so many good Authors of negligence, for neglecting them, as approving but onely two

natural Streams of *Euphrates*; Nam *Mela* quidem, *Plinius*, *Solinus*, alii, negligentius videntur perscripsisse duos solum *Euphratis* alveos, propterea quod alios *Aqueductus* magis quam naturales alveos esse putaverunt. And they had good reason to think so, as appeareth by that which hath been said,

# CHAP. VI.

Of the two remaining Channels, and the Fertility of the Eastern part of this Region.

AND are the two remaining Streams then unquestionably natural, and not artificial? Doubtless they have much more to say for themselves than the former, yet if they be called to the trial, they will not escape without some suspicion. For, to proceed to the third River, which running through *Babylon* still retains the name of the main Stream *Euphrates*: Some good Authors affirm this River also to have been cut, and name us the party by whom, viz. *Semiramis*, when she built the City: for whereas the Plains of *Babylonia* were all covered with water, as *Herodotus* testifieth l. i. n. 184. (and then sure there were none of these Rivers) *Belus* going about

to lay the foundations of *Babylon* drained them, as *Abydenus* apud *Euseb. Prap. Evang. l. 9. c. ult.* testifies: *Omnia (inquit) illa loca aquis contexta fuisse dicuntur. Belus autem regionem siccatse perhibetur, & Babyloniam condidisse.* By which draining of the waters at too great a distance (as it seems) the City soon found the want of it; and therefore *Semiramis* rebuilding and enlarging it, (which *Orosius* saith she did in the 64. year from the first of *Ninus*) among other her famous works, she cut a Chanel for this River through the City. Thus much *Pomp. Mela* affirms, *l. 1. c. 11. Ex operibus certe ejus insignia multa sunt, duo maxime excellent, constituta Urbs mira magnitudinis Babylon, ac siccis olim regionibus Euphrates & Tigris immissi.* Where *Olivarius* hath this note, *Euphrates & Tigris olim non Chaldaeam irrigabant, erat enim regio sicca, nisi curâ Semiramidis adjectis fassis ambo fluvii immissi fuissent.* And *Propertius* seconds the same report with his testimony, *l. 3. Eleg. 10. Persarum statuit Babylona Semiramis urbem, Ut solidum cocto tolleret aggere opus, &c. Duxit & Euphraten medium, quâ condidit arces.* (Hæc sunt ædificia, quæ sunt in Babylonia)

Now though *Semiramis* were indeed ancienter

cienter then *Moses*, (albeit *Herodotus* makes her younger, as living but five Ages before *Nitocris*, l. 1. n. 184. and *Porphyrus* apud *Euseb. Prap. Evang.* l. 10. c. 3. seems to make her his contemporary) yet if this River were cut by her hand, it could be no River of Paradise, which was ancienter then *Adam* himself. And I cannot persuade my self that by *פרת* *ipse Perath*, *Moses* meant any Branch, but the main Body of the great River, the River *Euphrates*, (as the Scripture every where calleth it,) which *Moses* therefore forbore to describe by the Countries through which it runs, because it was well enough known to the *Israelites*, as being one of the Bounds of their Land. So that now there remains but one native Stream to this River, (and orle we must needs leave it for its ancient Chanell) which may seem by best title to belong to *Nahar Sares*, though the Etymologie of the Name render even that suspicious also: for *Sares* (as *Junius* hath observed) signifieth *diductum sive divulgum*, but then we must suppose the reason to have been, not because it self is drawn out of any other Stream, (for so the Antiquity of it should become as questionable as the rest) but because it self is the main Stream out of which  
the



the rest were drawn, for anciently it emptied itself into the Persian Gulph in a proper Chanel of its own. *Sed longo tempore Euphratem praelufere Orcheni & acicola agros rigantes: nec nisi per Tigrin defertur in mare*, saith Pliny l. 6. c. 27. And yet it seems not alwaies to have kept constant to the same Chanel, for if it be *Auxim* in *Abydenus*, (as *Junius* saith) or *Pallacopa* in *Arrianus*, (as its distance from *Babylon* rendreth it very probable) it was several times obstructed or diverted in its course. *Abydenus apud Euseb. Prap. Evang. l. 9. c. ult. Cum Principatum* (ait) *Nabuchodonosorus accepisset, continuo Babylonem triplici muro quindecim diebus munivit, & fluvios Armachalem atque Acracanium ab Euphrate ortos obstruxit.* And *Arrianus de Expedit. Alex. l. 7.* tells at large how *Alexander* stopped the mouth of *Pallacopa*, (as that *Babylonian* Satrapa with great labour had done before) and cut a new one. The same doth *Strabo* confirm out of *Aristobulus*, l. 16. *Cum fossam quandam ad paludes & lacus qui sunt Arabiam versus tendere animadverteret, habentem os intractabile, & obstructum difficillimum, propter cedentem & mollem terram, aliud novum os aperuisse* 30. stadiis à priore, capto

*capto loco petroso, atque traducto alveo.*  
 So full of uncertainties are all things concerning the Rivers in this Region, that (I think) *Funius* could not have chosen any other, wherein with less hope of success to have travelled in search of the Garden of *Eden*. As for that which is alledged from so many credible Authors concerning the Incredible Fruitfulness of the Eastern part of this Region, it may well enough be granted with small advantage to this cause: for that, being but a common adjunct, is predicable of other places as well as this: and though haply there may be some strength in this negative Argument, Such a place is not fruitful, *Ergo* it was not Paradise, yet the affirmative is but weak, Such a place is fruitful, *Ergo* Paradise was there. And therefore I marvel much to find so great a Logician as *Alstedius* was, reasoning thus: *Paradisus terrestris fuit situs loco fertilissimo & amœnissimo: Talis autem est Auranitis, Encyclop. l. 20. Historic. c. 11.* Can he assure us that the place where Paradise stood doth (even after the Fall, yea after the Custody of the Cherubims is removed, and the Deluge hath marr'd the face of the Earth) still retain the preeminence of fruitfulness and beauty above other places?

Many

Many good Authours of able judgments are of another mind. And if the decision of this Question lay upon this point, many places of the East would disdain to yield this honour to any part of *Babylonia*, if the lavish commendations of Geographers may pass for unquestionable proofs; of which (if it were worth the while) plenty might be produced; Therefore perhaps we shall doe no wrong to *Pliny*, if we take his superlative expression (as the custom is) for a little hyperbolical. *Herodotus* (an eye-witness, and from whom (if I be not deceived) *Pliny* received this testimony) speaks mote modestly and warily, confessing indeed that this was the fruitful'st place of the East that he had seen; but how? for wonderful store of Corn, not of Wood. The place is in *Clio*, n. 193. *Exit ex Euphrate in Tigrin alterum flumen, ad quod urbs Ninus sita erat. Hac Regio omnium quas nos vidimus longè optima est, duntaxat ferendo Frumento. πῶς δὲ ἄλλα διαδρεῖα ὑδὲ πρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρον, ὅτι σινάλευ, ὅτι ἀμπύλον, ὅτι ἰλαίλω, Nam in arboribus ferendis, Ficu, Vite, Olea, nequaquam de principatu contendit. Onely afterward he mentioneth some store of Palm-trees, to which *Strabo* addeth some Gardens of Cypresses,*

Cypresses, of which *Alexander* was necessitated to make up his Navy, for want of other wood in those parts: *αὐαίς γὰρ ὕλην ἐκταύδεα*, saith *Strabo*, l. 16. Now surely to the constitution of an Orchard (as Paradise was) variety of Trees (especially Fruit-trees, such as the Vine, the Olive and the Figg) are as necessary, as the fatness of the Soil to bearing Corn. And that it was so in *Adam's Paradise* *Moses* assures us, *Gen. 2. 9.* And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food: the Tree of Life also in the midst of the Garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil: neither of which (I persuade my self) was either Palm-tree or Cypress. But to cut off this controversie: Suppose this part of *Babylonia* were as well stored with all manner of Trees for use and ornament, as it was fertile in bearing Corn; yet if the other parts of *Moses's* description suite not to it as well as this, the Argument from this alone will inferre no necessary Conclusion: for so *Alstedius* himself hath taught us, that a Fallacy of the Adjunct is then committed, *Cum uno atque altero Adjuncto sumptis, quorum vis est imbecilla, necessarium concluditur.* *Syst. Log. l. 9. c. 3.*

## CHAP. VII.

The Author's attempt of finding a more probable place for the Seat of Paradise.

*Tigris* and *Euphrates* prov'd to rise from the same Fountain.

Finding therefore no satisfaction in this Description of *Funius*, lest we should seem more willing to find a fault, then to offer our best service (though we well know how worthless that is) for the discovery of the truth; let us lift up our eyes again, and see if haply any other place may be discerned where this happy portion of ground, so much sought after, may with greater probability be found out. And here we must make use of the River as our faithfullest Guide; which springing out of *Eden*, (as *Moses* saith) afterward divideth it self into four Heads, of which *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (by the consent of all) were two; not any petty Streams in *Babylonia*, but those two famous and well-known Rivers, which encircling *Mesopotamia* give it its name. But can it ever be proved that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* spring out of the same Fountain? This indeed is the great difficulty:

culty: in discussing whereof, if the same spirit that guided the pen of *Moses* shall favourably assist our weak endeavours, the rest of our task will become far more easie. It cannot be denied, that the seeming-concurring testimony of Geographers to the contrary hath so farr stumbled some otherwise godly and learned Divines, that they have broke forth into speeches not very seemly. *Luther, Tom. 6. Comment. in Gen. 2.* calls this *unum de maximis Scandalis in Mose*; and having debated this Question of the distance of the Fountains in the vulgar way, concludes, *Ergo Moses. evidentissimè contra sensum pugnat.* I will not dissemble, that the reading of this passage struck my spirit with some horror, and often recalled my thoughts to this meditation, (which otherwise I was willing to have bestowed in more profitable matters) to try if by any means this Scandal might be removed. And why should we despair of effecting this, when even Secular Authours themselves are not at agreement in assigning the Fountains of these great Rivers; some finding them in one place, some in another; some at a larger, some at a nearer distance. A hopefull augure, that at length they may be found so near as to verifie the testimony

of

of *Moses*. *Strabo* (that grave and learned Geographer) sets them very far asunder, viz. near upon 312 miles. Διέχουσι δ' ἄλληλων αἱ πηγαι τῆ π Εὐφρατου καὶ τῆ Τίγριδος ὡς εἰς διχίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, *Fontes Tigridis & Euphratis distant invicem circiter CIO CIO IO stadia*. *Ptolemy* cuts off more then a third part of this distance, for he sets the Latitude of the Fountains of *Tigris* in 39°. 40", of *Euphrates* in 42°. 40", between which there are no more then 3 Degrees difference, which make but 180 miles. But *Procopius* may seem to draw them nearer together, for thus he writes, *De Bello Pers. l. 1. Mons non valde prae-ruptus in Armeniis est, à Theodosia Civitate 42 stad. distans, ad Boream pertinens, unde duo exeunt Fontes totidem Flumina constituentes, Euphratem dextrorsus, Tigrim verò sinistrorsus*. What this Mountain was, and where this City *Theodosia* was situate, (5 miles  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the North of which these two Rivers had their Springs) it is not easie for us (by help of that broken and imperfect discovery which we have of those Eastern parts) to determine. In the same Book he mentioneth a City of that name not far from *Nisibis*: *Anastasia Civitas condita est ab Anastasio, ubi erat Dara in*

Mesopotamia, à Nisibi 98. stad. distans, in Romanorum Persarumque confinibus, cui vicina Theodosia. But this, being well within Mesopotamia, could not be the same with the former, seeing it is certain that the Fountains of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were in Armenia. More likely it was that *Theodosiopolis* mentioned by *Eustathius* in his Comment upon *Dionysius's* Περαιωνος, where, speaking of Armenia, he bids us note, that the Emperour *Justin* divided it into 4 parts, the first and most renowned whereof was that which was called Ἐπτάπλις, whose Metropolis was *Bazanis*, formerly called *Leontopolis*, πύλις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Θεοδοσίη πῆλη. But neither is that so precisely bounded, that we have any thing of certainty to affirm concerning the situation of it; nor, if we had, would it be much material to the end we aim at: for though the Testimony of *Procopius* have served us to bring the Fountains of these Rivers nearer together; yet seeing he confesseth them to be distinct, this will not serve our turn. But are there any then that do affirm them to spring out of the same Fountain? Surely, if *Isidorus Hispalensis* do not deceive us, either he himself or *S. Hierome* had read some such thing in an authentick Author,

viz.



viz. *Salust* the Historian ; for these are his words, *Orig. l. 13. c. 21. De Fluminib. Euphrates fluvius Mesopotamiæ de Paradiso exsurgens. Salustius autem author certissimus asserit, Tigrim & Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia, qui per diversa euntes longius dividuntur, spatio medio derelicto multorum millium; qua tamen terra, qua ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur. Ex quo Hieronymus animadvertit aliter de Paradisi fluminibus intelligendum.* Whether *Isidore* himself had seen this passage in the Works of *Salust*, (which now are lost) or *S. Hierom's* Works have suffered some mangling since his time, I cannot tell ; but the truth is, in the Editions of *Hierome* which we now have this Testimony is not quoted so fully, for in the place to which he relates the most material passage is left out. His own words, *De loc. Heb. voce Euphrates*, are these: *Euphrates fluvius Mesopotamiæ in Paradiso oriens, Porro Salustius author certissimus asserit tam Tigris quam Euphratis in Armenia fontes demonstrari. Ex quo animadvertimus aliter de Paradiso & fluminibus ejus intelligendum.* That there is a considerable difference betwixt these two in relating the testimony of *Salust*, is obvious at first sight,

without a Prompter: for besides a larger addition in *Isidore*, that main clause, *Tigrim & Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia*, is no more in *S. Hierome* then, *Tam Tigris quàm Euphratis fontes in Armenia demonstrari*, which they might well enough be, though removed at as great a distance as some have set them. Yet can we not honestly suspect, that *Isidore* would falsifie either *Salust* or *Hierome* for so small a matter. And the observation which *Hierome* makes upon *Salust*'s words argues, that he conceived something in them remarkable above what was ordinarily to be found, for rectifying a common Errour about the Rivers of Paradise. Now that the Fountains of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were to be seen in *Armenia* was no news, nor worthy so solemn a preface to gain credit to the Author, it never being questioned by any, but obvious in every Historian as well as *Salust*. But if he observed and reported them to flow out of the same Fountain, (which was a Secret unto most) well might he commend the Testimony of such a credible Writer to the consideration of the men of his time, as a fair way to reconcile the relation of *Moses* with the truth of History, the ignorance whereof had put them upon  
such

such prodigious fancies; and so his aime may seem to have been the same with ours, viz. by hinting this Testimony, to prepare and procure belief, that nothing was reported by *Moses* concerning the Original of these Rivers, which (if inquired after) might not also be made appear by the testimony of Secular Authours. But because this report of *Salust* comes to us onely at the second hand, and that also somewhat obscurely, we are content no more weight should be laid upon it then what in prudence it may be supposed able to bear: nor is there need we should, having a second at hand ready to be deposed upon the same thing, and that as clearly and fully as we can desire. This is *Lucan, Pharsal. l. 3.*

*Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride  
 magnus  
 Euphrates, quos non diversis fontibus edit  
 Persis, & incertum, tellus si misceat amnes,  
 Quod potius sit nomen aquis. —*

That he sets the common Fountain of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Persis*, whereas, by the undoubted consent of all that speak exactly, they were in *Armenia*, this ought not to stumble any one that is but meanly

conversant in Histories; who cannot be ignorant, that it is common with Writers (especially of those times) to call by the name of *Persis* all those Countries that at that time lay under the Dominion of the *Persian* or *Parthian* Monarchy: But it cannot but be grateful to all such as wish well to *Moses*, and would rejoice to see his Authority vindicated, to hear a Heathen stand up thus stoutly in his defence against the general vote of Geographers, not obscurely rejecting their contrary Opinion as an Error. And he might be the bolder to doe this, if it be true which is observed by an able Commentator, (though himself incline the other way) that he had the vulgar Creed to justify him in it. *Farnab. in locum, Uterque fluvius oritur ex Armenia montibus, verum non parum distantibus; vulgo tamen creditum unum habuisse Fontem.* And certain it is that learned *Boetius* (among the rest) was of this belief; for discoursing excellently (as his manner is) how casual events are guided by Providence, (which he makes the common fountain out of which they flow, and into which at length they finally resolve themselves) he illustrates it by this Simile of *Tigris* & *Euphrates*, which issuing out of the same Fountain, (saith he) and  
 having

having enclosed a large compass of ground, at length meet together again, bringing their wreck along with them. His words are in his Treatise *De Consolat. Philosoph. l. 5. carm. 1.*

*Rupis Achæmeniaæ scopulis, ubi versa sequentium*

*Pectoribus figit spicula pugna fugax,  
Tigris & Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt,  
Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis.*

*Si coeant, cursûmque iterum revocentur in unum,*

*Confluat alterni quod trahit unda vadi,  
Convenient puppes, & vulsi flumine trunci,  
Mistâque fortuitos implicet unda modos.*

*Quos tamen ipsa vagos terra declivia casus,  
Gurgitis & lapsi defluus ordo regunt.*

*Sic qua permissis fluitare videtur habenis,  
Fors patitur franos, ipsâque lege meat.*

# CHAP. VIII.

*A farther Enquiry where this Fountain is. Objections answered.*

THE concurring Testimonies of these Authours will (I hope) be deemed sufficient to support the credit of this Assertion, if we can (by good authority) discover

what, and where this Fountain was. And hereunto that clause in the fore-cited Testimony of *Lucan* may perhaps afford us some help; *Incertum, tellus si misceat amnes, Quod potius sit nomen aquis.* For though these words be capable of several constructions, (and Commentators have left us here to sink or swim to our selves, though oft-times they spend many lines in less needful Criticisms;) yet to my apprehension the Poet's meaning is this, That these two Rivers after their efflux out of their common Fountain run still so near together, that when they overflow their Channels, and their waters touch each other, (as, by the supposition he makes, it seems sometimes they do) if then they should intermingle their Streams, it would be a hard matter to determine which of the two Rivers should bear the name of their conjoyned waters. This passage suits so well (save onely the difference of a name) with that Observation which *Cl. Caesar* brought home with him to *Rome* out of these parts, when he warred in the East, (which was not long before the Poet wrote) that I doubt not but he had relation to it; and the account that *Pliny* makes us of that report of *Cl. Caesar* is the best Commenta-

ry that we may expect upon that clause;  
*Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Tam vicinum Arsanix  
 fluere eum (sc. Tigrim) in regione Arrhene  
 Claudius Cæsar author est, ut cum intumu-  
 ère, confluant, nec tamen misceantur, levi-  
 orque Arsanias innatat IIII M. ferè spatio:  
 mox divisus in Euphratem mergitur.* If  
 we had as full assurance that this *Arsanias* of  
*Cæsar* did flow out of the same Fountain  
 with *Tigris*, as his unmixed overflow doth  
 accord with that which *Lucan* testifies of  
*Euphrates*, it would be no presumption to  
 affirm that they were one and the same Ri-  
 ver. And though this be no easie task  
 to perform; (no Geographer (that I have  
 met with) having undertaken to give us  
 any account of the first Spring of *Arsanias*;) yet so much they have acquainted us with-  
 all as may serve to satisfie any ingenuous  
 mind in this matter. *Plutarch, lib. De Flu-  
 viis*, tells us a strange story, (as some have  
 construed it) though (in our opinion) not  
 so strange as true. He saith that the River  
*Tigris* runs into *Araxes*, and so into the  
 Lake *Arfacis*. His words are these: *Τίγρις  
 ποταμός ἐστι τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἣ ποῦν καταπίπτει  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀρὰξιν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρφακίδα λίμνην,*  
*Tigris fluvius est Armeniæ, defluens in  
 Araxem simul & Arfacidem paludem.* This  
 relation

relation seems so incredible to his Commentator *Mansuetus*, that he fears not to charge it back upon him for a Falshood. *Falsum est quod docet hoc loco Author noster, Tigrim in Araxem defluere. Falsi arguere potes ex Strabone & innumeris alii authoribus.* The reason that moved him to be so bold with his Author was this then, (as I suppose) because *Strabo* and other Geographers had told him, that though *Tigris* and *Araxes* flow out of the same Mountain, (as some say) yet their course is so directly contrary, *Araxes* running into the *Caspian Sea* on the North, and *Tigris* into the *Persian Gulf* on the South, that it is not imaginable how they should ever run the one into the other. But had *Strabo* or any other Geographer told him, that there were no more Rivers of this name but one? or that it was not possible for any Writer to miscall another River by that name? Himself observes a mistake in the name of the Lake, and why might not the same befall the River also? That Lake which *Plutarch* here calls *Arsacis*, *Strabo* and *Dionysius Afer* (as he notes) called *Arsene* and *Thonitis*, and *Pliny Thespitis*, which he supposeth ought to be read *Thonitis*: but there is no good warrant for that Correction, for  
*Thespitis*



*Thespitis* is as probable a name as *Thonitis*, and *Ptolemy* calls it so, placing upon it a City called *Thospia*, from which in probability it borrowed this name. And though *Strabo* make this and *Arsena* the same Lake, yet *Pliny* doth not, but sets them at a good distance; for the first Lake that *Tigris* runs into he calls *Arethusa*, *Ptolemy* *Arsissa*, (in all probability *Plutarch's* *Arsacis*) but placed by him a Degree and more to the North of *Thespitis*. But whether they were one or several Lakes, it is not much material to our purpose: Most likely it is that the Lake either gave or took its name from the River *Arsanias* flowing into it; and so did the Country about it, which *Ptolemy* calls *Arsea*, others *Arsena*, but *Procopius* alwaies either *Arzana* or *Arxane*; which hath so near affinity to *Araxis*, that it leaves us no just cause to doubt that *Plutarch's* *Araxis* is the same River that others call *Arsanias*. Which being so, we have found these Rivers meeting very early together, after which their first Conjunction they seem not to part asunder for a long time; for (so far as we can discern them) they run in the same, or a near-adjoyning, Chanel, they fall both into the same Lakes, dive into the ground alike,

alike, spring again alike: in a word, they sever not, (at least at no considerable distance) till in the Region of *Arrhene* (as *Cl. Caesar* hath told us) *Arsanias* floating over his fellow, for the space of 4 miles, at length leaves him, and falls into *Euphrates*. That this is true, we have a credible Author to give testimony of it, who gives us good assurance withall, that *Arsanias* is indeed no other then *Euphrates*, as *Lucan* called it, *Cl. Marius Victor, Genes. l. 1.*

*Tertius hinc rapido percurrens gurgite Tigris*

*It comes Euphrati, junctâ quos mole ruentes  
Tellus victa cavo sorbet patefacta barathro;  
Donec in Armeniæ saltus ac Medica Tempe,  
Quos non sustinuit, nec jam capit, evomit  
Amnes.*

In that he makes *Tigris* and *Euphrates* *junctâ mole ruentes*, he plainly enough intimates the Conjunction of their Streams, after which he finds them falling together into a subterranean Gulf: this was after they had passed the Lake *Arethusa*, as *Pliny* writing of *Tigris* tells us, *l. 6. c. 27. Influit lacum Arethusam omnia illata pondera sustinentem, &c. Fertur autem & cursu & colore*

colore dissimilis : transvectusque occurrente  
 Tauro Monte in specu mergitur, subterque  
 lapsus, à latere altero ejus erumpit. *Locus*  
*vocatur Zoroanda. Eundem esse manifestum*  
*est, quòd demersa perfert.* Their first Ef-  
 flux after this their new birth out of their  
 common Fountain was (as the Poet tells  
 us) into the Forests of *Armenia*, and the  
 pleasant Woods and Groves of *Media*, (ta-  
 king *Media* largely, and so reaching those  
 parts, though properly assigned to *Armenia*,  
 as others have done.) But forthwith they  
 fall into another Lake, viz. *Thonitis*, (as  
*Strabo* and *Dionysius*) *Thospites*, or *Thespi-*  
*tes*, (as *Ptolemy* and *Pliny* call it;) for so it  
 follows, *Alterum deinde transit Lacum, qui*  
*Thospites appellatur*, (which *Strabo* tells  
 us was *nitrosum*, nitruous, and not potable.)  
 Therefore *Tigris* hastening through it, im-  
 mediately after it hath acquit itself, *rursus*  
*in cuniculos mergitur, & post XXV. mill.*  
*pass. circa Nymphæum redditur*: which  
 as *Strabo*, *Dionysius* and others testifie,  
 so the former Poet hath expressed not un-  
 elegantly.

*Sed Tigris, nigro tanquam indignatus a-*  
*verno,*  
*Prosilis athereas motu majore sub auras;*

Et

*Et rursus spelæa subit, mersusque cavernis  
Intus agit fremitus; & fortior obice factus  
Multiplicatur aquis, atroque citatior antro  
Exit, & Assyrios celeri secat agmine cam-  
pos.*

But because in the fore-mentioned place of *Lucan*, that remarkable unmixed mixture of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (or, as *Pliny* calleth it, *Arsanias*) is by the Series of the Poet's discourse intimated to have happened betwixt their common Spring and the last Fall of *Tigris*, for so it immediately follows,

*At Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu,  
Occultosque tegit cursus, rursusque renatum  
Fonte novo sumē pelagi non abnegat undis:*

we must understand that of *Pliny*, concerning the running of *Tigris* under ground for the space of 25 miles, beginning as soon as he comes forth of the *Thospian* Lake, (as *Strabo* also testifies) not of a total disappearing of the River, but an interruption of its Stream, so that it kept not a constant course, but was up and down, and manifested it self by Effusions (as it were by stealth) rather than a perpetually-visible Current. And so much (I think) *Aethicus* means,

means. *Fluvius Tigris etiam ipse de Monte Caucaſo quaſi viſitur natus, cum aſtrivis temporibus ſub humo eum deſuper Æthiopiam currere ex viriditate ſuperni ceſpitis prodatur, fluvius ſubditus latenter erumpit, & ob hoc ortus ejus non comprehenditur, quoniam de obſcuritate promitur.* And this may probably paſs for a reaſon in Nature, why, after their Confluence, the waters of *Arsanias* float over thoſe of *Tigris*, becauſe they are not ſo well cleaned from the nitrous and oily matter they had contracted in the *Thoſpian* Lake, as thoſe of *Tigris* (by courſing under ground) were. However this be, it hindreth us nothing from the thing we aimed at, viz. a ſight of that Fountain we have been in ſearch of; for now it appears to be in *Armenia major*, in the Region of *Sophene*, on the Southſide of the Mountain of *Taurus*, in a moſt pleaſant and delicious place; in a word, in the very place where *Ptolemy* places the Fountains of *Tigris*, (and conſequently of *Euphrates*) in the Latitude of  $39^{\circ}.40''$ .

*Hæc domus, hæc ſedes, hæc ſunt penetralia  
magni  
Amnis——*

Nor can I foreſee what ſcruple of moment  
can

can be opposed against this whole discourse, except haply some be not yet satisfied, that *Pliny's Arsanias* is the same with *Moses's Euphrates*: who notwithstanding (I hope) will suffer themselves to be persuaded, if they consider, 1. That it is so common for Rivers to change their names, especially for ancient Rivers to receive new names, that to contend about the name, when the thing it self is evident, is but an humorous vanity. 2. Though *Pliny* call it *Arfanias*, yet *Lucan*, *Marius*, *Victor*, &c. call it *Euphrates*, as *Moses* doth. 3. *Pliny* denieth the right of this name to the great River it self, till, having broken through the Mount *Taurus*, it enters *Syria*; whereby a liberty is granted to this River to plead its birth-right to this name, as well as to any other that, running through *Armenia* or *Mesopotamia*, flow together to make up its Channel. *Plin. l. 5. c. 24. Supra Simyram XII. M. pass. initio Pyxirates nominatus, Fluit Derxenem primum, &c. Deinde Elegiam Armeniæ decem M. pass. acceptis fluminibus Lyco, Arsanias, Arfano. Apud Elegiam occurrit ei Taurus Mons, nec resistit, quanquam XII. M. pass. pravalens. Omiram vocant irrumpentem; mox, ubi perfregit, Euphratem.* The like is observed

ved by *Ethicus*. *Fluvius Auxius nascitur de Monte Armeno; transiens per Mesopotamiam pergit: in ea verò Provincia alius ei adjungitur fluvius Pactolus, qui dicitur ex ipso Monte Caucaso nasci; & unum effecti, per Parthos transeuntes eorum cursus congregant aquas: ibi flumen Euphrates nomen accipit, & exinde se diffundens currit millia 872, & mergitur in Sinum Persicum.* Here is plainly affirmed that *Euphrates* takes not that name till the Conjunction of these Rivers; whereof if *Pactolus* were *Pyxirates*, and *Auxius Araxes* or *Arsanias*, (as with good probability we may conjecture) then have we another argument to prove that this River was anciently taken for *Euphrates*; for so *S. Ambrose* tells us, that the Learned men of those parts used to call it *Auxes*. *Amb. De Paradiso, c. 3. Plerique Euphratem dictū tū inopere dictum putant, hoc est, à lætando. Causa autem cur ceteri quā comeant fluvii, describuntur regiones locorum, quā Euphrates comeat, non describatur, illam accipimus, quia aqua ejus vitalis asseritur, & qua foveat atque augeat. Unde Auxenium Hebræorum & Assyriorum prudentes dixerunt.* Yea, *Pliny* himself (if we be not deceived) gives his verdict

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for

for this name: for how otherwise to reconcile him with *Ptolemy*, and the truth of Geography, we see not. *Lib. 6. cap. 9.* numbring the most remarkable Cities of *Armenia*, he writes thus: *oppida celebrantur in minore, Cæsarea, Aza, Nicopolis: in majore, Arsamote Euphrati proximum, Tigri Carathiocerta.* Now if *Arsamote* (which without doubt was the same that *Ptolemy* calls *Arsamosata*) were as near *Euphrates* as *Carathiocerta* was to *Tigris*, it was seated upon the very banks of it: But in *Ptolemy* it is set well-nigh two Degrees distant, which make up so large a summe of miles, that for my part I believe this is an error in *Ptolemy*, and credit rather that exacter Writer *Geog. Nub.* who sets them about 24 miles distant. For he, (*Part. 5. clim. 5.*) describing the way betwixt *Meledin* (in *Armenia minor*) to *Majafarecgin* (in *Armenia major*), tells us, that when we come to *Alhama*, which is opposite to the Town of *Malattia* on the South, (the same Town that *Ptolemy* calls *Melitene*, situate at or near upon that long Stream which Geographers usually call *Euphrates*) from thence there are 12 miles to *Tal-Batric*, and other 12 to *Tal-Aresias*. Now *Tal-Aresias* is the very same that *Pliny* calls



calls *Arsamote*, *Ptolemy* *Arsamosata*, for the signification in them both *הר-שומת* and *תל-חרם* is neither more nor less then *Collis* or *Mons Solis*: and if we would know where that was situate, he tells us; *Facet autem Arefias ad magnum quoddam flumen, quod e montibus excurrans, tandem Euphrati se miscet infra Samosata*. Which agrees so well with the description that *Pliny* maketh of *Arsavias*, that we need not doubt but that was the same River which ran by this City. Whereunto if we adde the report that *Dion* and *Tacitus* make, of *Patus* his making a Bridge over this River, (when he made that cowardly Composition with the *Parthian*) there will remain no farther cause of questioning: for *Dion* expressly calls it *Arsanias*. *Ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, ἐφοδιομολογησάμενον, ἵνα τὸ ποταμὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρσανίας ζεύξωσι*, *Parthus dimisit Pætum, prius cum eo pactus, ut ponte sibi jungeret fluvium Artaniam*. But *Tacitus* calls it *Arsametes*, *Annal. l. 15. Fluvio Arsameti (is castra præsuebat) pontem imposuit*: which hath so near affinity with the Citie's name, *Arsamote*, that (though *Lipsius* think it corrupted in *Tacitus*, and to be amended by *Dion*) we may well conjecture, that the City and River gave or took their name

one from the other, or else from some other cause common to them both. However, if *Arsamote* were placed near upon *Euphrates*, (as *Pliny* hath told us) and yet that River be evidenced by clear proof to be the same that himself elsewhere calls *Arsanias*, it will follow by his own confession that *Arsanias* was *Euphrates*; which is most true, for it was its primitive and original Stream, as *Moses* assures us.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Of the first Division of the River Tigris after its Separation from Euphrates, and the various Names given to one Branch of it by several Authors.*

AND now having (by God's assistance) waded through the chiefest difficulty, and discovered the *Fountain* of the *River of Paradise*, and two of its main *Heads*; we may (I hope) with more encouragement proceed to the inquiry of the rest; if onely we shall admonish this, That from henceforward *Euphrates* (which the *Jews*, subtracting the Article, call *Perath*, or (as *Josephus* hath it) *Phorath*, the Inhabitants  
of

of those parts sometimes *Furro*, but for the most part *Frat*) constantly holds this name all its Course throughout: But whether *Tigris* (as yet) may challenge the name of *Hiddekel*, will better appear in this ensuing Discourse. Nevertheless we make choice of his Stream to follow as our Guide in this Search, as having formerly found, upon examination, the Streams of *Euphrates* altogether unable to abide the trial. And it is not long that *Tigris* hath run after its Separation from *Euphrates*, and last rise from its new Fountain, before it come to a second Division: for having past the *Gordian Mountains*, and being now about to enter *Assyria*, it parts its Stream asunder, and openeth its arms (as I may so say) to embrace it. Thus much I gather from *Epiphanus in Anchoret. n. 58.*

Τρίτῳ, φησὶ, ποταμὸς Τίγρης, πορδόμενος ὁ κατὰ νῆπτον τῆς Ἀσσυρίων. Ἀνατίνει γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ δύνει ὑπὸ τῷ γλῶ, καὶ ἀνίσχει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ μέσον Καρδίας καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἀναπνέουσα πάλιν, καὶ ἀνατίνει πρὸς τὴν Ἀσσυρίων γλῶ, *Tertius, inquit, fluvius est Tigris, qui è regione Assyriorum fluit: Quippe Orientis tractus dividens, sub terram demergitur. Qui cum ex Armenia inter Cardiacos & Armenios oriatur,*

*depressus iterum emergit, & Assyriorum agros divisus irrigat.* Ptolemy indeed takes no notice of this Division in the Historical part of his Geography, (which will be no wonder to those that know how many such like omissions may be observed in him;) yet (if I be not deceived) there is something in his Tables that refers this way: I mean his ancient Tables; for those set out by Gerard Mercator, promising correction, are herein faulty. In the ancient Editions of Jacob. Eszlar, and Georg. Ubelin, and Maginus Asia Tab. 3. (which contains the Map of Armenia major, with some other of those Regions that lay to the North of it) two Streams of Tigris are fairly drawn, (not far from its Fountain) the one running Westward towards Armenia minor, the other Eastward on the back of the Mountain Niphates, which bounds Assyria to the North. Indeed, if Ptolemy had intimated any such thing, these might have been taken for Rivers running into it: but seeing he doth not, we take leave (upon the grounds already, and farther to be discovered) to assign the Western Branch to Arsanias running into Euphrates, and the Eastern to this new Division of Tigris intimated by Epiphanius.

If any wonder why their Course is not drawn out to the length, the streightning bounds of the Map (which was to end with the South-bounds of *Armenia*) may be rendred as a good reason of this *Eclipsis*; and being thus cut off, (as it seems) they became neglected in the following Maps. However, that there was such a Branch of *Tigris* running to the North of *Assyria* or *Adiabene*, we have *Pliny* for a sufficient witness: for thus he states the Bounds of *Adiabene*, l. 6. c. 9. *Adiabenen Tigris & Montium finus cingunt*: (or, as some reade it, *Montium finus in vii cingunt*) which that it is to be understood in relation to *Armenia*, the circumstances of the place evidently prove: and if any doubt should be moved of it, that other passage of his in the same Book, cap. 15. makes it clear. *Adiabenis connectuntur Carduchi quondam dicti, nunc Cordueni, praefluente Tigri*. Which is also attested by *D. Marinus Niger*, *Geog. Asia, Com. 5. Juxta Cadufiorum regionem Corduci sunt, qui quondam sic appellabantur, nunc vero Cordueni, qui Adiabenis connectuntur, medio elabente Tigri*. But never did any Author mention the *Carduchi* to the West or South of *Tigris*, but generally all to the

North, in the Mountains of *Anti-Taurus* assigned to *Armenia* and *Media*, betwixt which and the Mountain *Niphates* the Valley lay in which this River ran. And this same River still holding on its Course, I take to be it which *Josephus* mentioneth, (but nameth not) as parting betwixt *Adiabene* and *Media*, *Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 2.* *Cumque Parthus numerosas equitum atque peditum secum properè trahens copias opinione citius venisset, posuissetque castra ad fluvium qui Adiabenum à Media dirimit, Izates quoque non longè inde castra metatus est, &c.* And may we not well conjecture this to be one of those three Rivers which *Herodotus* mentioneth under the name of *Tigris*? For though he deny the first and third to spring out of the same Fountain, yet he saith nothing to the contrary but the first and second might. *Terpsic. l. 5. v. 52.* But certain it is, that without the help of this River we shall never understand aright the history of young *Tobis's* journey into *Media*, who parting from his Father at *Ninive*, (which by the greatest part of Geographers is placed upon the banks of that other well-known Stream of *Tigris*) yet Chap. 6. 1. it is said, that as they went on their journey, they came in the Evening.

to the River Tigris, and they lodged there. This cannot be understood of any gyre or circle of the same Stream, (as some imagine) for no such lay in their way to *Ecbatane*; but it was a distinct Stream by it self, and separated from that other at a considerable distance. Nor will any ingenuous man think it sufficient to elude this Testimony, because this Author is Apocryphall; for though the Book be not Canonical, yet this Testimony may be true: and none (I think) will deny it to be so, that hath attentively read the Relation that *Xenophon* makes of the *Grecian* Armie's march in these parts. For having told us (*De exped. Cyri* l. 3.) how they passed over *Tigris* into *Assyria* at a Town called *Cana*; he farther relates how they still passed on Eastward over the Rivers *Zabatus* and *Zathes*; (which Mr. *Fuller* sufficiently proves to be the same that *Ptolemy* calls *Lycus* and *Caprus*) then having passed another Torrent, (which he names not, and therefore gives us leave to conjecture that it was that small Rivolet which *Ptolemy* calls *Gorgas*) *Quod reliquum diei erat secure pergens cum confecissent*, (saith he) *ad Tigrim amnem perveniunt*: (so here another *Tigris*) which having passed at a Town called *Larissa*, after another

ther daies march of six parasangs, they came to an ancient Town of the *Medes* called *Mesphila*; where turning their faces towards the North, they made towards the Mountains of the *Carduchi*, having this Stream all along on their left hand, even to its very spring; as appeareth by the end of the third and beginning of the fourth Book. Which Relation brings this Stream of *Tigris* about the ancient *Assyria* with so large a circle, that it might serve to present it to us in the form of an Island. And indeed it was so; for it was so shut in with Rivers on all sides, that there was no passage into it but by Boat. Whence it was that the *Greeks* fetched the reason of the name *Adiabene*, as if it were so called *ἀδία-βαινα*, *ἐὸν* quod *esset* *impertransibilis*; which though *Ammianus* justly reject, (for it is absurd to frame a *Greek* Etymologie of an *Assyrian* word;) yet the reason rendered for it he denieth not, but confirmeth, *Hist. l. 23. Juxta hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum esse, quod inter Ocnam & Tigridem sita, navigeros fluvios, adiri vado nunquam potuit.* And this without all question was the reason why that ancient Historian *Qua-*  
*dratus*



dratus called *Assyria* or *Adiabene* by the name of *Messene*, (as he is quoted by *Stephanus* πρὸς πάλ. voce μέση & μέση) ἡ ποταμὸς ὅς ἐστιν ἡ μέση ποταμὸς αὐτὴν μεσάζοντες, quia mediam inter duo qua ibidem sunt flumina regionem occuparet. These Rivers he after nameth *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for which he incurreth the reprehension of divers, who cannot see what *Euphrates* hath to doe with *Assyria*: But if they would consider how customary it is with the Writers of these parts, mutually to commute the names of these great Rivers, and many times to apply them to other Rivers which have proper names of their own, they would not reject this ancient Author's Testimony, but accept it as a piece of true Geography. We have formerly noted how *Xenophon* calls *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris*, and other Authors (to requite that wrong) call *Tigris* by the name of *Euphrates*. *Hesych.* in voce *Tigris*: *Tigris*, ποταμὸς Περσῶν & ὁ τῆς ποταμὸς ῥοῖος & ἑωρ. ὅθεν μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι Φοράδ, (lege Φοράδ) παρὰ δ' Ἕλλησι *Tigris*. He makes *Tigris* to be the same which the *Jews* call *Phorath*, which we all know to be *Euphrates*. And the like doth *Diodorus Siculus*, *Antiq.* l. 3. c. 1. where speaking of the foundation of *Ninive* by *Ninus*, he saith,

saith, *Ipsæ coactis undique viribus, & his  
 qua ad tantum opus spectarent paratis, Bala-  
 ã Eippartluu nomuor, supra Euphratem flu-  
 vium Urbem condidit*: which almost all  
 besides him place upon *Tigris*. Now if  
*Quadratus* (and after him *Stephanus*) may  
 be conceived, and might be allowed to speak  
 according to the language of these men,  
 supposing the Western Stream to be that  
 which he calleth *Euphrates*, the other  
 which encircleth *Assyria* he might call (as  
 divers others do as well as he) by the name  
 of *Tigris*, and so his expression shall be-  
 come as excusable, as the thing it self which  
 he affirms is true. But *Ammianus* (a man  
 much conversant in these parts) hath ac-  
 quainted us more exactly with the true and  
 proper names of these Rivers, (learn'd (as  
 may seem) from the Natives themselves)  
 and therewithall, of the true *Etymologie*  
 of the name *Adiabene*, *Hist. l. 23. Nos au-  
 tem didicimus, quod in his terris amnes sunt  
 duo perpetui, quos & transivimus, Diavas &  
 Adiavas, juncti navalibus pontibus. Idem-  
 que intelligi Adiabensem cognominatam, ut  
 a fluminibus maximis Ægyptus, Homero  
 authore, &c.* The names of these two Ri-  
 vers are one and the same in their Radix,  
 and differ no more then the same word with  
 and

and without an Article. Mr. *Fuller* takes them to be those which we have heard *Xenophon* call Ζαῖστρον and Ζαῖδω, the Letters *D* and *Z* being so near of sound, that easily they may be (and usually are) transmuted. Besides דני in the *Chaldee* and דני in the *Arabick* signifie the same thing, even that by which *Ptolemy* hath expressed the Rivers name in *Greek*, and that is *Αβυς*. This is both learned and probable; but whether it will satisfie *Ammianus*, I cannot tell: for I observe that wheresoever he hath occasion to mention the River *Lycus*, he never calleth it *Diavas* or *Adiavas*, but alwaies *Anzaba*: and accordingly *Geog. Nub. part. 6. clim. 5.* calls it *Zeb major*, (as he doth the other *Zeb minor*.) Which if it may be accounted sufficient to argue these to be different Rivers in the opinion of *Ammianus*, I should crave leave to conjecture, that these Rivers *Diavas* and *Adiavas* (as the Natives called them in *Ammianus's* time) were the same with the fore-mentioned encircling Rivers, which (as himself a little before hath told us) were anciently called *Tigris* and *Oena*. What that *Oena* was we forbear to enquire at present, as pursuing some farther notice of *Diavas* and *Adiavas*;  
whose

whose Radix if we search, we cannot (I think) more probably fetch it elsewhere then from the *Chaldee* word *כרר*, or *ἐμπαρκω*: *כרר*, which is the same with *כרר*, and accordingly rendered, viz. *Aurum*; as *Dan.* 2. 32, 38. So that applied to the River it will make it as much as *Flumen aureum*, or, as the *Greeks* would express it, *Χρυσορροας*. Of which name I find a River in these parts, mentioned by *Ethicus*, so nearly resembling this we speak of, that for my part I doubt not but they were the same. His words are these: *Fluvius Chrysoorrhoas nascitur in campis Assyriis de Monte Caucaſo, & vicinatur & ei Tigris fluvius. Fluvius Tigris etiam ipſa de Monte Caucaſo quaſi viſitur natus, cum aſtrivis temporibus ſub humo cum deſuper Aethiopiam currere ex viriditate ſuperſperni ceſpitis prodatur, fluvius ſubditus latenter erumpit, & ob hoc ortus ejus non comprehenditur, quoniam de obſcuritate promitur: nam ambo includunt Cordubennam oppidum, & ad unum redacti, magnam faciunt coronam, & etiam alia oppida includunt, & Theſiphon & Seleuciam currentes millia 882. immerguntur ad Auge oppidum, quod eſt in Sinu Perſico.* Not to engage my ſelf to juſtifie every particular in this piece of Geography, thus much (at least)

least) may be clearly gathered from it, That this River falling into the River *Tigris*, and with it including the *Metropolis* of the *Gordians*, (which it seems stood in a little Island) after their running some while together in a conjoynd Chanel, this united Stream separateth it self again into two, so as with its encirclings it encompasseth a large space of ground: Which is so consonant to the former relations, that we need not doubt they all referre to the same truth, though under different names: for the name of *Tigris* was more famous, and better known to Strangers; but this of *Diavas* or *Adiavas* became so grateful to the Natives, that with it they baptized both these Streams; for I find the Western Branch called *Zaba*, which is indeed but the contract of *Zababa*, (of *𐤆𐤌𐤁𐤁𐤁* *aurum*, not *𐤆𐤌𐤁𐤁𐤁* *lupus*) and so in the *Chaldee* Tongue was pronounced *Dihaba*, or *Diavas*. *Paulus Diaconus* relating the Expedition of *Heraclius* the Emperour against the *Persian*, writes thus: *Kalendis Decem. venit ad fluvium magnum Zabam: & cum hunc transisset, castrametatus est juxta Niniven*. Now, wheresoever the ancient *Ninive* were seated, certain it is that that Town which went under that name in the time of *Heraclius*

was

was situate either upon or very near the banks of *Tigris*: for opposite to the Ruines of it was *Mosul* built in *Mesopotamia*, the River onely parting betwixt them, and that also joyned by a Bridge. *Benjamin in Itinerario*, pag. 62. Edit. *Elzivir*. *Ista Civitas*, (sc. *Al-mozal*) jam inde à diebus priscis maxima, Perfidis initium est, ad *Tigrin flumen* sita: inter quam & *Niniven* Pons tantum intercedit. *Has devastata est: attamen multos pagos & arces habet. A Ninive Arbeelem usque una est parasanga. Ninive autem Tigridis ripa imminet.* The like hath *Geog. Nub. Part. 6. clim. 4.* *Mausel est Urbs ad occidentalem Tigris partem extructa, habetque territoria ampla, & provincias magnas, ac pra ceteris territorium Lino (i.e. Nini) Urbis vetustissima, sita ab orientali latere Tigris, è regione Mausel.* And for the upper Stream of this River, that that also was called by the Natives *Diavus* or *Adiavus*, we have the Testimony of *Moses Barcephas*, a Learned man, born and living about these parts, who in his Treatise of *Paradise* divers times makes mention of this River, (for so I fear not to affirm) sometimes calling it *Dijobis*, and otherwhile *Dijabis*, as cap. 21, and 28. Whereupon though the Learned

Learned *Masius* forbears to pass his Con-  
jecture, yet others have not feared to call  
it *Danubius*. Which they might easily doe  
by the *Epenthesis* of a letter, and yet not  
vary from the true signification of the  
word. For the *Arabian* City *Dizahab*,  
mentioned *Dent. 1. 1.* (which comes of the  
same Root with this, and is accordingly  
rendered by the *Septuagint* τὰ κατωχρύσα,  
from the Gold-mines that were found a-  
bout it) is by some rendered *Denaba*. Which  
name *Dizaba* (which is near of sound to  
*Dijabis*) being applied to this River, and  
the Article וי prefixed unto it, (which is  
usual with the Eastern Nations to doe to  
the names of Rivers, as וי פרקל, *Dan. 10. 4.*) it will become *Hudizaba*, or  
*Hudizabis*, which might so easily be chan-  
ged into *Hydaspis* in a Western man's  
mouth, that if any be found to call it so,  
their error is as pardonable (while their  
grounds are so good) as we take that of  
*Casarius* the brother of *Naxianzen* to be,  
who in his Dialogues makes *Danubius*  
one of the Rivers of *Paradise*, upon the  
former mistake. A considerable Truth in  
our opinion, howsoever others (who had  
never heard of another River pretending any  
affinity to this name, but that famous one

in Germany) have proposed it to be derided as an idle Conceit. Now for Authority to prove that this River hath sometimes passed under the name of *Hydaspis*, we may produce that of *Virgil*, *Georg. l. 4.*

*Præterea Regem non sic Ægyptus, & ingens  
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus  
Hydaspes  
observant*——

It is strange to see how Commentators are troubled to find what this *Medus Hydaspes* should be; for they tell us they never read of any River of that name in *Media*, but onely in *India*: and therefore some are bold with the Verse, and, pretending to correct it, make it much worse; for they would have it read, *Medus, Hydaspes*, and so it should become *Versus hypermeter*. Others are of opinion that it took this Epithete, because the *Medes* under *Alexander* overcame the *Indians*. *Junius Philargyrus in loc. Apud omnes satis constat Hydaspem flumen Indiæ esse, non Mediæ; sed potest videri Poeta Hydaspem Medium dixisse jure belli, quod Medi duce Alexandro vicerint Porum Indorum Regem, & in suam redegerint potestatem.* A vain and frivolous reason, without all warrant or proba;





In our  
modern  
Maps it is  
called  
*Angua*,  
though a  
little mis-  
placed.

led before *Anisange*: which Town we may in vain seek for in *Ptolemy*, or any other Geographer, for it is indeed a mere *ὑσάνιον*, (no great wonder in *Aethicus*) and ought to be read *Angeanis*, or rather (which was the true name of it) *Aginis*; for so *Arrianus*, *libro Rerum Indic.* calls that Town where this River emptieth it self into the *Persian Lake*. *A Lacu ad ipsum flumen navigatio est stadiorum DC. Ibi & pagus quidam Sufiorum est, quem Aginim vocant. Is à Sufis distat stadiis quingentis.* About which distance *Ptolemy* placeth a City in these parts called *Saura*, which to have been a City of some note appeareth by this, that the name of it is transmitted to these times; for in our Modern Maps mention is made of it, as also in *Geog. Nub.* who calls it sometime (after the old name) *Saura*, sometimes (by a new one, as it seems) *Daurac*, and sets it near the *Persian Gulf*, or at least a Bay shooting it self up into the Land, which first received this River, and might well receive from it the name of *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Syrtis Saronitica*; it being usual with Bays to receive their names from some near-adjoyning remarkable City.

## CHAP. X.

*A farther Prosecution of the same Argument, and this Stream found at last (sensibly to Moses's Description) to be Gihon.*

AND now the knot is untied, and both the Head and Out-let of this River is discovered, between which so large a space of ground is interposed, that we may well imagine that in so long a Course it receiveth other waters into it besides those of its own Chanel. And so indeed it doth; for it taketh in the River *Choaspet* out of *Media*, also *Eulans*, and out of *Susiana* another Branch of *Tigris*, of which we shall speak afterwards. And thus much *Strabo* hath observed out of *Polycletus*, who affirmed, *Choaspem, & Eulæum, & Tigrim in Lacum quendam confluere, atque ex eo inde in Mare exire*; yet so, as both they, and all other Rivers which they take into them, first meet together in one conjoynd Chanel, which carrieth the name of *Tigris*; for so he immediately notes that other had affirmed: *Sunt qui affirmant flumina omnia qua Susiam pervadunt, eis & p̄p̄m̄q. tō tū Tigris*.

Elian.  
 Hist. var.  
 l. 12. c. 40.  
 Plin. l. 6.  
 c. 27.  
 p. 263.

201. *ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ, in unum Tigridis alveum illabi.* And hence proceeded that difference among Authors, some ascribing that to one of these Rivers which others ascribe unto another: as, (*Ex. gr.*) that high esteem which the Persian Kings made of the waters of *Choaspes* is by some ascribed to *Eulans*, by others to *Danubius*; for so *Giraldus*, and out of him *Ortelius*, *Tab. Datia & Maesia*, hath observed, *Babylonios Reges ex Danubio (five Istro) aquas inter gazas reposuisse*; *De Diis Syntag.* 17. Which is a remarkable passage, and gives us full assurance of the Course of this River as we have described it. For this *Danubius* was not *Ister*, (as they falsely imagine) but the same formerly spoken of, which others have called *Diavus*, *Dijabis*, *Adiavus*, and (*Virgil* and *Plutarch*) *Hydaspis*. But if any haply doubt whether *Plutarch's Hydaspis* were the same with this, because he saith it was *fluvius India*; they are to note, that the name of *India* is given by good Authors to divers other Countries besides that famous one vulgarly known by this name in the *East*: for (to omit examples not so nearly relating to our purpose) the Regions of *Assyria* and *Susiana* are (if I mistake not) by the Writers of the Empe-

rour *Trajan's* Life called *India*. *Entrop. Breviar. l. 8.* relating his Conquest of those parts, sets it down thus: *Seleuciam & Ctesiphontem, Babylonem & Edeffios vicis ac tenuit usque ad Indiæ fines, & Mare Rubrum accessit: atque ibi tres Provincias fecit, Armeniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam, cum his gentibus quæ Macedenarum attingunt.* But none ever affirmed that *Trajan* conquered the *East-Indies*. For though, in emulation of *Alexander*, he rigg'd a Navy in the *Persian Gulf*, (which *Entrop.* (with others) calls *Mare rubrum*) with a purpose to assault those parts; yet it doth not appear that ever he landed his Army there, having received intelligence, while he was yet in his Voyage, that these Countries had revolted; which made him speedily return to settle those parts, as accordingly he did, and after reduced them into the form of Provinces, as *Dion, Cassiodorus, &c.* testify with *Entropius*. Or if this Testimony be not sufficient, we have another beyond all exception, and that is the Testimony of *Nicephorus*, who confidently calls *Adiabene* an *Indian Region*. *Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 9. c. 18.* *Adiabene verò Regio est Indica ampla & celebris.* And hence *Theophilus* (a famous man born

in this Countrey, and while he was but yet a youth sent Hostage by the *Adiabeniens* to the Emperour *Constantine*, and by him sent back again as his Embassadour into those Eastern Countries, where he converted many to the Christian Faith) was by the men of that age usually surnamed *Theophilus Indus*, *Id. ibid.* And for the same reason (I think) it was that this same River also got the surname of *Indus*: for so *Plutarch* also (though he give another fabulous reason of this Name, yet) plainly testifies that it was called *Indus*; *loc. citat.* Which is another great stumbling-block in his *Commentator's* way, and is not indeed easily to be removed but by the help of this observation. Assuredly they that fetched the Spring of the River *Indus* out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, could mean no other River but this; and that some have done this appears by the Testimony of *Sabellius*, *Ennead. l. 1.* who accordingly affirms it, *Indus in Armeniæ montibus oritur.* And we have farther assurance that this was the River, by the Testimony of *Dionysius Periegetes*, who mentioneth a River under this name running into *Choaspes*, (or rather taking in the Stream of *Choaspes* into its Chancel) and with it watering the whole Region

Region of *Susiana*. These are his words  
in *Periegesis*,

—χωρὶς δὲ Χόασις

Simul ad  
ortum Solis  
euntes

Ἐλχων Ἰνδὸν ὑδὸν ὥρ, ὅρα πρῶτον χόαντα Σύνων.

gentes con-

And may we not well suppose that this was

cussa bello,

the remaining Stream of that famous Ri-

qua inter

ver *Gyndes*, which *Cyrus* in his march from

Indum &

*Persia* towards *Babylon* cut into so many

Euphra-

pieces, because it had drowned one of his

tem amnes

beloved white Horses that drew in his Cha-

inclitos

riot, as it is related by *Herodotus* l. 1. n. 189,

funi; aque

190. and after him by *Seneca De Ira*, l. 3.

imperati

6. 21? Truly the circumstances of the

Obsides

Story agree so well to this River, (besides

Persarum

the affinity of the Names) that if it were

Regi no-

not this, we cannot well imagine where to

mine Cos-

find it. Indeed it might move some scru-

droe Sex.

ple, that *Herodotus* finds the Spring of this

Aur. Vi-

River in *Matiana*, if we had not observed

flor, in vi-

how confused and large the notion of *Mati-*

ta Trajani,

*ana* is in his Geography; so as it may well

be extended even to that place where we

also believe the Fountain of this River to be,

Besides, it is no unusual thing with *Herodo-*

*tus* to be overtaken with that vulgar Er-

ror, which we have observed to be com-

mon to him with others, to mistake adven-

titious In-lets for the native and original

Streams of Rivers, But *Stephanus* speaks

full

full as much to our purpose as we desire: for he (whence-soever he had it) going about to relate the famed story of *Gyndes*, (in voce *Gyndes*) prefaceth it with such a Description of the River as sets it right with our Observation; for thus he writes: *Gyndes, Assyriorum fluvius maximus secundum Euphratem. Is cum Cyri impetum, &c.* Whether or no this River were as great as he makes it, (as like enough it might be) yet undoubtedly, if it were a River of *Assyria*, it could be no other then this that we have described. Others again have called this River *Cydus*, and it appears to be the same by the Course that it runs, and Fall in like manner into the River *Chouspes*, (or Reception of it rather) with whose conjoynd waters it crosseth the Eastern borders of *Assyria*; yet so, as in the way it may seem to shed out of it a little Stream, which falls into that branch of *Tigris*, that after we shall speak of, not far from the Rivers *Lycus* and *Caprus*: the like where-to being related by *Pliny* and others of the Fall of *Chouspes* in like manner into *Tigris*, it might well enough be the same, these two Rivers having before conjoynd their waters. And the observation of this is useful, to reconcile some differences to be found



found in Historians in relating the Battel at *Arbela*. For *Q. Curtius* l. 4. saith, that when *Darius*, being put to flight, was glad to shift for himself, *Paucis fuga comitibus, ad Lycum amnem contenderet, quo trajecto, dubitavit an solveret pontem, &c.* *Arrianus* De *Expedit. Alex.* l. 4. seems to call it *Bumadus*, which is observed to be the same River which *Ptolemy* calls *Caprus*. But *Justin* plainly calls it *Cydnus*, *Histor.* l. 11. *Suadentibus deinde quibusdam, ut pons Cydni fluminis ad iter hostium impediendum intercluderetur, non ita salutis sue velle consultum ait, ut tot millia sociorum hostibus objiciat: debere & aliis fugam patere, qua patuerit sibi.* And from thence (no doubt) *Orosius* took an occasion of that gross Error, when, dreaming of no other *Cydnus* then that which runneth through *Cilicia* into the *Syrian Sea*, he took boldness to write, that the last Battel betwixt *Alexander* and *Darius* was at *Tarsus*; *Histor.* l. 3. c. 17. And the like mistake, arising from a like misprision, occasioned other Learned men to discredit another Story concerning this River, reported by an eye-witness out of his own knowledge. This was *Diotimus*, Embassadour from the State of *Athens* to the *Persian*,

*Persian*, who delivered it with his own mouth to *Eratosthenes*, from whom *Strabo* thus relates it, *Geog. l. i. Διότιμον ὃν ἔστρεμβιχον, προσήναι Ἀθηναίων ἀφηρόμενον, 249. τῷ Κυδνῷ ἀναπλεῦσαι ὅκα ἔκλειται ὅτι ἔστι Χόασπιν ποταμὸν, ὅς ἐστι τὴν Σῶν ῖν, καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ποταμὸν εἰς Σῶν. ταῦτα δ' αὐτὸς διηγέσασθαι αὐτὸν ἔστι Διότιμον, Diotimum Strombichi filium, ducem Legationis Atheniensium, ἐκ Cilicia adverso flumine Cydno in Choaspin fluvium navigasse, qui Susa alluit, ac XL dierum spatio Susa pervenisse, idque ipsum sibi narrasse Diotimum. Though *Eratosthenes* had no just cause to except against the Credit of the Relator, yet he confesses the Relation it self seemed very incredible unto him, because he could not conceive how *Cydnus* could possibly flow under *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, to fall into *Choaspes*. But if there were not onely a double *Cydnus* (as by this may sufficiently appear) but also a double *Cilicia*, (and one of them at the very place where *Diotimus* took Barge) then (I hope) this wonder will cease. And that there was so, the Author of the Book of *Judith* may serve for a sufficient witness: for relating the march of *Nabuchodonosor's* Army under the conduct of *Holophernes* towards the West,*

he

he tells us, Chap. 2. 21. that they went forth of Ninive three days journey towards the Plain of Bectileth, and pitched from Bectileth near the Mountain which is at the left hand of the upper Cilicia. It is more evident then can be denied, by the sequel of the history, that the Mountain which is here said to lie on the left hand (*i. e.* to the North) of the Region called *Cilicia*, was that part of Mount *Taurus* that bounded *Mesopotamia* and *Affyria* on that side; and the Plains of *Bectileth* are supposed by *Funius* to be the Plains that lay about the City *Bithias* not far from *Samosata*. But whether that were so or no, (for it may well be doubted, because *Bithias* lay more then three daies journey from *Ninive*) yet certain it is, that hereabouts (and nearer *Ninive*) *Ptolemy* sets the Region *Calacine*, which *Strabo* calls *Chalachena*, and both of them might as well every whit have called it *Cilicia*, (for so *Pliny* calls some of the Inhabitants of those parts *Silices*, or rather *Cilices*) which is indeed no other then that Region whither the captive *Israelites* were translated when they were led away into *Affyria*, which *2 Kings* 17. 6. is called *Chalach*, and had its denomination from the City *Chalach* built by *Nimrod*,  
Gen.

*Gen.* 10. 11. near (as may seem) to the utmost North-west border of *Assyria*, where we have formerly found this River to make its Division. And the reason why this *Apocryphal Author* calls this Region the *upper Cilicia* was, (in all probability) with relation to that other better known in the West, that lay upon the Recess of the *Syrian Sea*, which had (no doubt) both its name, and the reason of it, from the same *Hebrew Root* with this. And so it appears plainly, that howsoever this report of *Diotimus* hath hitherto passed for little better than a prodigious Lie, yet it is indeed a remarkable Truth, and gives us full assurance of the Course of this River in the same manner that we have set it. I might here further adde something concerning another name of this River, taken up (as seems) in after-times; and it is *Zirma*, *Corma*, *Somra*, and *Samura*. For *Agathias* finds it on the North of *Assyria* under the name of *Zirma*, *Hist.* l. 4. When it crosses the East of that Region, *Tacitus* calls it *Corma*, *Annal.* l. 12. When it runneth through *Susiana*, *Benjamin* in *Itiner.* calls it *Somra* and *Samura*. Which to be the same River with this we speak of, appears by the answerable Course that it held. But having already tired my  
pen

pen in this tedious search, and come at length within view of that which was sought after, I willingly supersede from that needless labour. For who is there now that in those corrupted names of *Cydnus*, *Indus*, and *Gyndes*, may not easily discern the mis-shapen lineaments of the name *Gihon*, which *Moses* makes one of the four Rivers of Paradise? And if upon this ground we take leave to suppose the name *Oena* (which *Annius* gives it) to have been anciently either written or pronounced *Geana*, none (I think) can justly challenge it for an over-bold conjecture. However, certain it is that divers of the names given to this River have been by others applied to *Gihon*. *Geog. Nub.* expressly calls that River which others call *Cydnus* by the name of *Gihon*; as *Scaliger* also notes, who farther observes, that *Gihon* (a River running to the South of *Hierusalem*, 2 *Chron.* 32. 30.) is also by an equipollent *Synonymon* called *שילח Siloach*, *Nebem.* 3. 15. which by a little corruption in after-times became *Σιλωάμ*, *Jo.* 9. 7. and being put into the form *Pyhal* becomes *שילח Shallach*, *Obad.* v. 1. So near to which both in sound and signification is the ancient name which *Plutarch* gives this River, that as they agreed

in

in the one, it may well be supposed they agreed in the other also. For the most ancient name of *Tigris* (as he tells us) was Σόμαξ, or, as *Eustathius* in his Comment upon *Dionys. Perieg.* hath it, Σύλαξ which to have continued to this upper Stream we speak of, called by *Plutarch* *Hydaspis* and *Indus*, appears by the same Authour, (*cap. de Indo*,) where he affirms it also to be called Μαυσαλός which is either no more then the former radical word with a □ Heemantick prefixed before, or else it is further compounded of □□ which in composition as well as construction becomes □, and is by the *Egyptians* (as *Iosephus*) and the *Syrians* also (as *Scaliger* saith) pronounced Maw or Maū, and signifies *Aqua*, or *Synecdochicā Fluvius*; so that Μαυσαλός is but *aqua*, or *fluvius Solus* or *Solax*, or rather *Sulach*: for that the true *Radix* of this word is טלש or טלש, which among other acceptations signifieth *Dimittere* and *Dejicere*, *Plutarch* himself hath put us out of doubt, who, undertaking to interpret this word, saith that it signifies καταρσις. And I doubt not but this was that River *Silus*, which, meeting with the Streams of *Eulans*, ran together with it into the Sea. *Inde flumen Silum à Montibus Persarum venientem*

nientem recipit, post in Mare emittit. D. Mar. Niger, Geograph. Asia Com. 5. Yea (that all occasion of doubt may be taken away) the famous name of *Nilus* (which was generally believed by the Ancients to be *Gibon*) is found also to be given to this River: For *Foach*, *Vadianus* hath observed, that from the time of *Moses*, even to the time of *Alexander*, *Indus* was generally believed to be *Nilus*. Upon presumption whereof it was, that *Alexander* prepared a Navy in *Indus* with a purpose to pass into *Egypt*, as hoping by its Stream to sail into *Nilus*; as *Strabo* testifies *Geog.* l. 15. But herein was his mistake, that he sought that before him which was behind him, not knowing (as it seems) that that name was intended to this River, which by good authority we have already proved to be called *Indus*. The place of *Vadianus* is in his *Appendix*, containing an explication of some places in his Commentaries upon *Mela*, which, because it is pertinent to this purpose, we shall here describe in his own words. *Sed de Indo, inquit, Moses non meminit. Geon enim, ut Augustin. lib. super Gen. 8. interpretatur, Nilus est per omnem Æthiopiæ terram fluens. Agnosco equidem Augustini interpretationem.*

nem. Constat tamen à vetustissimis, usque Alexandri & Artaxerxis tempora, dubitatum fuisse, diversusne esset à Nilo Indus, an idem Amnis: id quod Aristoteles scriptum reliquit, & libro 15, memoria prodidit gravis imprimis Author Strabo: ut rerum & humanarum & divinarum peritissimum Mosen eà causâ Indum praterisse existimare debeamus, quòd populari suorum temporum historiâ in Nili nomine Indum comprehendi videret. And (I think) Eucherius was of this mind, as he is quoted by August. Stenhus Engub. Cosmopoliâ in Gen. c. 2. Eucherius noster, vide quàm rectè, Phison ait est Ganges, qui nunc est Nilus. For Ganges with him is no other then Gyndes, (cut by Cyrus) even as it is noted in S. Austin also, relating that story De Mirabilib. S. Script. l. 2. in the Text it is called Gyndes, in the Margent Ganges, and was the same River with Indus, the names onely being differently pronounced by different Nations, as Epiphanius hath observed, lib. De 12. Gemmis. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως οὖν τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν ἰδοὺς ἡγούμεθα, ὅτι τὴν τῶν βαβυλωνίων ἑρμηνείαν, Phison autem apud Græcos Indus, apud Barbaros Ganges vocatur.* And that the name of Nilus should be given it, is nothing strange,

not



not only in regard of the amplitude of its signification, (for *Ἰρῖς* is no more then *Torrents* or *Rivus*, and so may be indifferently applied to any River;) but also in regard of the great similitude that was betwixt that in *Egypt* and this. For as that *Nilus*, not far from *Memphis*, parting it self into two main Branches, (out of which others were drawn) watered all that Countrey which from the form of the *Greek* letter is called *Δέλτα*: so this River also, dividing it self into two Streams, watereth the whole Land of *Assyria*. *Sextus Rufus in Trajano; Provincias fecit Armeniam, Mesopotamiam, & Assyriam, qua inter Tigridem atque Euphratem sita irriguis annibus instar Ægypti fecundatur.* But above all other, the Testimony of *Pausanias* is most remarkable, who hath delivered us an ancient Tradition of the Original of *Nilus* so fully consonant to what we have delivered, that it self alone may not unjustly be deemed sufficient to justifie all or most that hitherto we have observed. The place is in *Corinthiacis*, *sive lib. 2. Quin & Nilum fama est Euphratem esse, qui ubi Paludi immersus diu latuerit, supra Æthiopas Nilus evadit.* This is so exact a Commentary upon *Moses*, that no Divine (which I have

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read)

read) hath afforded us a better. For here *Nilus*, (that is, in the language of the Ancients, *Gihon*, and was indeed a Stream of that River which vulgarly passed under the name of *Tigris*) is expressly affirmed to be the same with *Euphrates*; not onely because the name *Perath* was applied to it, (as hath been observed out of *Hesychius*) but because, as *Moses* affirms, they sprung together out of the same Fountain, and for some space ran so near together, that oftentimes their waters touched each other; after which, separating themselves, this River dives under fenny Lakes and Marishes, (just as the fore-cited Authors write of *Tigris*) and then springing up again, it takes the name of *Nilus*, (saith *Pausanias*) and watereth the Land of the *Aethiopians*. Could any thing have been delivered more consonant to the Sacred Story then this? For is not this the very Characteristical note by which *Moses* describes this River to us? *Gen. 2. 13. And the name of the second River is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole Land of Aethiopia*, saith our *English Translation*, with the *Septuagint* and others. And they might well enough translate *שִׁי* *Aethiopia*, it being well known and granted that

Cushites

*Cushites and Ethiopians are the same. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 7. Ex quatuor Chamæ liberis, Chuso nihil detrimenti tempus attulit. Ethiopes enim, quibus præfuit, nunc quæque tam à seipsis quàm ab Asianis omnibus Chusæi nominantur.*

## CHAP. XI.

*A Confirmation of the former Assertion, by proving that the Regions through which this River passeth were anciently called Ethiopia.*

**B**UT if any now begin to wonder to hear of *Ethiopians* in these parts, (as no doubt but this with other Observations in this Discovery will seem strange at first to prejudicate minds) I hope they will rest satisfied when they shall have heard the Testimony of so many credible Authors as have affirmed it. For howsoever the name of *Ethiopia* be now in a manner appropriated to that Region of *Africk* which commonly goes under the name of the Kingdom of the *Abassines*, or *Prestor John*; yet the ancient *Ethiopians* were at first Inhabitants about this River, from whence

they passed into *Africk*, and no doubt carried their name along with them. So much is observed by *S. Augustine*, (or whoever else was the Author of that Book) *De Mirabilib. S. Script. l. 1.* where having taken notice first of that Countrey that vulgarly goes under the name of *Æthiopia*, he adds, *Æthiopiam alteram esse in multis locis Historiarum Scriptura describunt. De qua in Ecclesiastica Historia scribitur, quod ex parte Indiæ adhaeret. Et in Chronicis Canonicis Eusebii refertur, (viz. An. Mundi 3580) quod Æthiopes ab Indo flumine consurgentes, juxta Æthiopiam (juxta Ægyptum Euseb.) confederunt. Ex quo intelligitur, quod terra illa in qua primitus Æthiopes habitaverunt, Æthiopia dicta esse potuerit.* What that Countrey was, we may in part gather from *Nicephorus Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 9. c. 18.* where, among other of these *Removers*, he names the *Assyrians*, whose Countrey he had formerly in the same Chapter called *India*, (even as the *African Æthiopians* also were called *Indians*) and a great part of it (as hath been said) was compassed with this *River Indus*: for having spoken of the *Auxumita*, (the most eminent Tribe amongst them) he adds, *Ante hos verò ad extremum pertingen-*

*tes Oceanum, Orientem versus, Assyrii: apud quos etiam hanc appellationem habent, quos Alexander Macedo, ex Syria pulsos, Colonos eo deduxit. Is ad hoc usque tempus patriam utuntur linguâ.* And seeing the identity of Language is the surest proof of the identity of Nations, we may well suppose that the rest of these *Removers* also were anciently their near-neighbours, seeing the vulgar Language of these *Aethiopsians* at this day (as themselves confess, and *Scaliger* delivers for certain) is no other then the ancient *Chaldee*; which to have been the Language of the *Assyrians* also, and other adjacent Regions, (with little or no variation) is more evident then can be denied. Yea, of so large extent was this title of *Aethiopia*, that the *Chaldaans* themselves may seem to have come under the compass of it. For *Tacitus*, *Hist. l. 5.* speaking of the Antiquity of the *Jews*, tells us, that most Writers held them to be *Aethiopum prolem*, whose ancestors notwithstanding we all know came from *Ur of the Chaldees*. And in like manner *Strabo* notes *Phœnicia* by some to have been called *Aethiopia*, *Geog. l. 1.* Εἰσι δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν αἱ τῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς Φοινίκων μετὰ τοὺς.

Which as it is evident in the story of *Per-*

*seus* fetching *Andromeda* from *Aethiopia*, (say the Poets) which was indeed from *Foppa*, where *Cepheus* her Father was King, and where the bones of that Monster (slain by *Perseus*) were to be seen many Ages after: so might *Strabo*, by the help of that Observation, have better understood that much debated Verse in *Homer*, which, after long sitting, he leaves at length with a far less probable interpretation, *Homer. Odyss. l. 8. v. 81.*

*Ai. Siomiu* ὁ ἰνὸς ἡλίου, ὁ Σιδωνίος, ὁ Ἐρεμῶν,  
*Aethiopes adii, tum Sidonios & Erembos.*

All which *Menelaus* might well doe, and yet never pass out of the *Mediterranean Sea*; for the truth is, all these were neighbour-Nations, dwelling along the Sea-coast betwixt *Agypt* and *Cilicia*: the *Aethiopians* about *Foppa*, the *Sidonians* in their own then-famous City; and the *Erembi* were either the *Arabians*, or rather the *Syrians*, whom the Scripture calleth *Aramites*, and were anciently known to the Heathen under the same name *Aramai*, as *Strabo* in the same place testifies. But my purpose is not to pursue the utmost extent of this word, which alone might serve to fill a Volume, seeing, (as the same *Strabo* testifies l. 1.) anciently the better part of the  
 Habi-

Habitable World went under the name of *Æthiopia*: but confining my search within its due limits, it shall suffice me to mention those *Æthiopians* onely whom (as *Moses* and *Pausanias* tell us) the River *Gihon* compasseth, or courseth by. For, as *Ainsworth* on *Gen.* 2. 11. noteth, the Original word is sometime used for turning and passing along by, though not round about; as in *Jos.* 15. 3. and 16. 6. where the *Greek* translates it *περιελύον*, *pass by*: and so he supposeth it to be taken by *Moses*. Now if we take a review of this River, even from its Fountain to its Out-let, we may discover some scattered mention of *Æthiopia* and *Æthiopians*. For as touching its Spring-head, we have heard *Æthicus* (before cited) placing it in or about *Æthiopia*: *Fluvius Tigris etiam ipse de Monte Caucaso quasi visitur natus, cum æstivis temporibus sub humo cum desuper Æthiopiam currere ex viriditate superni cespitis prodatur.* The Inhabitants of *Sagrus* or *Zagrus* (a Mountain that lay to the back of this River in a good part of its Course) are observed to be a Nation of *Æthiopians*; for so *Hesychius*, *Σάγρις*, Ἰθῶ. (lege Ἰθῶ) Αἰθίοπων. The Province of *Elymais* with the adjoyning Territories (τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἐλυ-

'Ελουμαίων) are by Epiphanus in *Anchoret.* n. 58. expressly placed in *Æthiopia*. And for the Inhabitants of *Susiana*, that they went anciently under the name of *Æthiopians*, we have a Testimony of as great antiquity as the evidence of any Heathen History will reach: for *Memnon*, who came from *Susa* to the aid of *Priamus* in the *Trojan Warr*, is by the ancientest Writers called *Æthiopum Rex*. So *Hesiod* in *Theogonia*,

Τιδωρὸς δ' ἦναι τῆς Μιμνόνης χαλκῆς  
 ἑρως,

Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλῆα—

*Ast Aurora parit Tithono Memnona fer-*  
*tem,*

*Æthiopum Regem—*

So accordingly *Pindarus*, *Olymp. Od.* 2. calls him 'Αἴς παῖδ' Αἰθιοπῶν, *Aurora's filium Æthiopem*. And *Pausanias*, *Phoc.* five l. 10. mentioning a Table in which *Memnon's* Picture was drawn, adds, *Prope Memnonem nudus est puer ex Æthiopia; quod nempe Æthiopum Rex fuit Memnon. Venit enim ad Bellum Trojanum non ex Æthiopia, sed à Susis Persarum urbe, debellatis iis omnibus Nationibus qua media sunt usque ad Choasum (Choaspem) flumen.* And the like hath *Diod.* *Sic. Bibli-*  
*othec.*



*othec. l. 3, c. 6. Cum Priamus bello oppressus, ab Rege Theutamio prasidium, utpote Assyrii subditus, per Legatos postulasset; ille decem millia Æthiopum, totidemque Susianos, cum ducentis carribus, duce Memnone, ad Trojam misit. That he reckoneth the Susians apart from the Æthiopians, it is not because they also were not Æthiopians, but because he had conquered some other Nations lying about Susiana, whom therefore he notes under this more general name of Æthiopians; and immediately after calls them by the like general name of Persians, for so it followeth, Eratunc Tithonus, (Memnonis pater) Præfectus Persarum, acceptus maximè Regi, And so those Persians which the Athenians, under the conduct of Miltiades, overthrew in the Plains of Marathon, were pictured under the habit of Æthiopians, in a Viall which the Statue of Nemesis held in her right hand, formed by Phidias out of that Marble stone which the enemies had brought with them, and presumptuously designed for a Monument of their own Victorie, Pausan. Attic. sive l. 1. Which is a thing so clear, that it is strange so great an Antiquary as Pausanias was should stick at it, who dreaming onely of Æthiopians in Africk, professes he knew not what to make*  
of

of it. So great a Lett is Prejudice to the discerning of the truth. Nor is that to be neglected which *Strabo* notes, *Geog. l. 15.* that *Æschylus* called the Mother of this fore-mentioned *Memnon* *Κισίαν* which we must not take for her proper name, (for that was *Aurora*, say the Poets) but *nomen gentilitium*, taken from the Country where she lived, viz. *Susiana*. *Λέγονται δὲ Κισιοὶ οἱ Σῦνοι*, (saith *Strabo* in the same place) *Susii enim etiam Cissii dicti sunt*: or rather *Cossai*, as himself and other Geographers call them for the most part; of whom frequent mention is made in Histories, especially in the Life of *Alexander*, before whose time (as it may seem) they had enlarged themselves farther then the bounds of *Susiana*, and possessed not onely the Mountains that lay betwixt it and *Persia*, but spread themselves up Northward all along the back of this River into divers scattered portions of Mount *Taurus*, not onely Eastward as far as *Media*, but Westward also even to the Fountains of *Tigris*. *Plin. l. 6. c. 27.* *Susianis ad Orientem versus junguntur Cossæi latrones*. In which place *Strabo* also finds them, and enlarging their Bounds yet farther towards the North-east, *Geograph. l. 11.* *Ὀπίσθιν*

δ' ἀπὸ μὴν τ' ἰὼ τῇ π Παρθυαίων καὶ τοῖς  
 Κοσσαιῶν ὄρεσι, λεγόμενοι ἀνδρώνων, οἱ τοξό-  
 ται μύριαι καὶ τετρακίλιαι σφράχοντες περὶ, Ἐλυ-  
 μαίοις συμμαχούντες ὑπὲρ συσίους καὶ Βαβυλωνί-  
 ον. Νίαρχος δ' ἐφασκε, Τελείων ὄντων  
 λεγόμενοι ἰσθμῶν, ὧν Μάρδοι μὴ Πέρσαις  
 προσχέουσιν, Οὐξιοὶ δ' καὶ Ἐλυμαῖοι τούτοις  
 π καὶ συσίοις, Κοσσαιῶν δ' Μήδαις πάντας μὲν  
 φόβῳ ἐπείθεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας, Κοσαῖους δ'  
 καὶ δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἵνα οὐ βασιλῆς διρίσκει  
 οὐ Ἐκβατάνοις εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν κατα-  
 βαίνοι· χαλαρῶσι δ' αὐτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τέλμῶν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιδήμιον χαμῶντος. Τούτοις  
 δ' ἀφορίζετο πρὸς ἰὼ, ἐπὶ τοῖς Παρθια-  
 κίνοις, οἱ σικαίησι Πέρσαις, ὄρειοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ  
 λεγόμενοι, Media major definitur versus  
 ortum Parthiâ & Montibus Cossæorum.  
 Sunt hi Latrociniis dediti, & aliquando  
 sagittariorum XIII millia eduxerunt, Ely-  
 mæis suppetias ferentes contra Susios ac  
 Babylonios. Nearchus ait, Cùm quatuor  
 sunt populi pradando viventes, de quibus  
 Mardi Persis contigui erant, Uxii & Ely-  
 mæi iisdem atque Susiis, Cossæi Medis;  
 omnes eos tributa à Regibus exegisse. Cos-  
 sæos autem munera etiam accipere, cùm  
 Rex æstate Ecbatanis transactâ in Babylo-  
 niam descendit: nimiam tamen eorum au-  
 daciam ab Alexandro fuisse compressam,

cùm

cum eos hyeme adortus esset. His ergo Media versus Ortum definitur; ac Parætaenis præterea, qui contigui Persis, ipsi quoque Montana incolunt, & Latrocinia exercent. Which Testimony I have therefore recited at large, that in it we may see the warlike spirits and ancient power of this Nation, such as to impose Tribute upon the greatest Kings, untill they were subdued by Alexander. Dionysius After remembering them under the name of Cissii, (as Herodotus also doth oftner then once) and sent them toward the North of Babylonia, comprehending under that name Assyria, (as others also do:)

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνι ποταμῷ Βορῖνι,  
Κισιοί, Μεσαβάων, Χαλωνίται πύργοι.  
At supra Babylona vides Aquilonis ad ora  
Cissos, Messabatâsque, Chalonitâsque se-  
roces.

That the Cissii or Cassai are placed adjoining to the Messabata, is agreeable to that of Pliny, l. 6. c. 27. Susianis ab Oriente proximi sunt Cassæi; supra Cassæos ad Septentrionem Mesobatene. Indeed Ptolemy placeth the Messabata in Persia; but Strabo saith it was a Region of Elamites; and haply it was adjoining to the borders of

of them both: about which place that the *Cossai* were their neighbours, is farther attested by *Dom. Marius Niger, Geog. Asia, Com. 5. Sufianæ partem Septentrionalem Cossæi tenent, regionem hand fertilis, tota enim montuosa est, per quam Cosæus amnis transit. Homines sagittarii, qui Latrocinia exercent.* That *Cosæus amnis* I take to be the same that in *Æthicus* is called *fluvius Susa*, which (as he describes it) in *Media Provincia nascitur, bicornis; efficitur unus: currit millia 504, descendit in Sinum Persicum.* Whereupon *Fos. Simlerus* passeth this not improbable Conjecture: *Intelligo fluvium juxta quem est Susa Urbs, hoc est, Eulæum: quem bicornem dicit, quoniam duos habet Fontes, unum in Sufiana, alterum in Media, Zagro Monte, qui infra Susa in unum conflunt.* And it may be *Fossephus* meant no other River but this, when he fetched the Original of the *Samaritans* Ancestours à *flumine Cutho*. True, he sets that River in *Persia*, and makes the people à *Persian Nation.* *Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. ult. Deinde migrare jussâ Persicâ quadam gente ex eo tractu qui ab amne Cutho denominatur, sedes ei designavit in agro Samaritæ, ceterâque Israelitarum regione.* Et paulo post; *Ceterum novi Samaritæ*

*mariae coloni Chuthæi: sic enim tum appellabantur, quod à Perfidis regione Chutha & flumine Chutho essent traducti, &c.* But if we remember that *Ptolemy* also placeth *Mesobatenæ* in *Persis*, (where farther within land he finds a Nation likewise of the *Susai*) and consider also how largely the name of *Persia* was taken in the time of *Josephus*, this will breed no great difference. Yet I do not assent unto *Josephus*, that this people took their name from the River, but rather the River from them; which if it were one of the Horns of *Euleus*, or rather a Stream that fell into it, or received it, it may well seem to have been no other River then this we have discoursed upon. And that it should take the name of *fluvius Chuthæus* is nothing improbable, because (as *Moses* saith) it watered the whole land of *Chus*. And indeed the *Cossai* did border upon it, not onely here in *Mesobatenæ*, where they inhabited upon Mount *Zagrus*, but all along its Course to its Spring, upon those Mountains that lay to the back of *Assyria* even to *Armenia*, where having formerly seated themselves, they straggled afterward farther Eastward into *Media* and *Persia*, and possessed divers Mountainous places in those Countries, even to the borders

ders of *India*, (though not without some change of their Name.) So much I learn from *Strabo*, who, speaking of the Northern parts of *Media*, writes thus: Ἡ δὲ περσικὴ ὁρετὴ, καὶ τραχεῖα, καὶ ψυχρὰ, Καδυσίων κατὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ Ἀμαρδίων, καὶ Ταπυρίων, καὶ Κυρτίων, καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων οἱ μεταναστεύουσιν, καὶ ληστεύουσιν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζάγρης καὶ ὁ Νιφάτης καταπαρμύλια ἔχουσι τὰ ἴδιον ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι Καρτίαι καὶ Ἀμαρδοί (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγονται οἱ Ἀμαρδοί) καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ, μέχρι νῦν ὁμοτύμους προσσηγορούμενοι, τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι ἰδίαι, *Quod autem ad Septentrionem vergit, montosum, asperum, & frigidum est: ubi degunt Cadusii montani, Amardi, Tapyri, Cyrtii, aliisque id genus, qui & aliunde in ista migraverunt loca, & sunt Latrones. Zagrus enim & Niphates istas gentes sparsas habent: & qui in Persia sunt Cartii & Amardi (sic enim vocant Mardos) & qui in Armenia sunt eodem hodiéque nomine censentur, eundémque habitum tenent.* By which Testimony it is evident, that the *Cartii* and *Mardi* or *Amardi* in *Media* and *Persia* were originally descended from the *Cartii* and *Mardi* in *Armenia* and the Mountains adjoyning to it; where we need not doubt to find them, seeing *Ptolemy*,

H

reckoning

reckoning up the Countries that lay East to the Fountains of *Tigris*, nameth *Gordene*, & *qua magis Orientalis Cortae*, & *qui sub ipsa sunt Mardi*; who yet were of the same progeny with their neighbours, though attaining this different name: which as it is well observed by learned Mr. *Fuller*, so it may be farther confirmed by comparing the Writers of *Alexander's* Conquest of these Nations; for those whom *Arrianus* calleth *Mardai*, *Curtius* calleth *Cardai*. And it is very probable (which he conjectures) that this name was given them in stomach by their neighbours the *Assyrians*, because they could not conquer them: for *ἡ Μαρδία* is as much as *ἀπικνύουσι deficere*, and in the *Chaldee* *מַרְדִּי* is *Apostata* or *Rebellis*, and such they were alwaies to the *Assyrian* Monarchs, who undertaking to invade them, were put to the worst, and their Armies wholly routed by them, as a Native of those parts told *Xenophon*. Which doubtless was the reason why *Adramelech* and *Sennacherib*, having slain their Father *Sennacherib*, fled into the land of *Ararat* (where this Nation dwelt) for protection. As for the *Cartii*, which *Strabo* more usually calleth *Curtii*, as also the *Cordi*, *Cordiai*, (and *Gordiai*) *Cardueni*, *Carduchi*, &c. that they were



were originally *Cossai*, their name it self (notwithstanding all this alteration) may evince. For, by the light alteration of an *S* into an *R*, *Cossai* at the first became *Cortii*, and *Curtii*, and *Cartii*; afterward *Cardi*, and *Cordi*, and *Gordii*, and *Gordiai*, &c. And hereof we may gather a good argument from the different writing of their Countrey's name in *Ptolemy*. For whereas *Maginus* and *Marius Niger* have it *Cortaa*; *Ortelius*, in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus*; (with others) hath it *Cotaa*; which anciently to have been *Cosaa* or *Cossaa* none will deny that knows how customary it is in the *Syriack* Tongue to change *S* into *T*, (as hath already been observed.) And seeing this Countrey lay so near the River that watered the land of *Chus*, and the Name answereth so exactly to it, (for how small is the difference betwixt *חַוִּי* and *Cotaa*?) I should rather incline to believe that this might be the more likely place from whence that *Colony* was transplanted into *Samaria*; not onely because it lay nearer to those places remembred in the Catalogue of the *Assyrian* Conquests, as *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Reseph*, and the *Children of Eden* which were in *Thelasar*; but also because the captive *Israelites* (who seem to have

H 2

changed

changed Countries with them) were bestowed hereabouts. 2 *Kings*, 17. 6. *In the ninth year of Hoshea, the King of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halab, and in Habor, by the River of Gozan, and in the Cities of the Medes.* As we have formerly noted *Halach* or *Chalach* to be *Chalachena*; so *Habor* or *Chabor* was either *Al-Chabur*, which *Geog. Nub.* sets in the North of *Assyria*, or else some Region in Mount *Coarbras*, which in the *Greek Copies of Ptolemy* is called *Χαβούρας τὸ ὄρεος*. *Gozan* gave name to a double Region, (but both adjoining to these parts) the one in *Mesopotamia*, the other in *Media*. And for the *Cities of the Medes*, I suppose not only *Amedon* is meant, (which *Geog. Nub.* calls *Hamadan*, *Benjamin Tudelensis Hemdan*, and saith (in *Itinerario*) that he found therein near upon 50000 *Israelites*) but all other Cities in that Countrey, out of which those Nations were drawn that were sent with the *Chuthites* to make up that *Samaritan Colony*, and are thus reckoned *Ezra* 4. 9. *The Dinai, Aparsatbcai, Tape-lai, Aparsai, Arcavai, Babylonii, Susanchai, Debavai, and Helamai*: which (omitting the *Babylonians* and *Susanchites*, which

which are well enough known without a Commentary) are expounded by *Funius* to be the *Dennani*, (or *Dani*, or most commonly *Daii*, joyned with the *Mardi* by *Herodot.* l. 1.) the *Parataceni*, the *Tapyri*, the *Perfa*, the *Araceni*, (or Inhabitants of *Oracana*, a City of *Media* in *Ptol.*) the *Darita*, called also *Zapovorteni*, (or rather the *Deba*, so called by contraction for *Dehaba*) and the Inhabitants of *Elymais*, the ancient neighbours of the *Cossai*. Nor am I any thing deterred from this opinion by that of *Abrabaniel*, who makes *Cuth* or *Cutha* a City of the *Chaldeans*: כּוּת הִיּוּ עִיר אַחֶרֶת בְּאַרְץ כַּשְׁדִּים, *Cuth est Civitas alia in Chaldaeorum regione*. For as the name of *Chaldea* is found given to other Regions beside that which lies upon *Babylonia*, so this in which the *Curdi* dwelt is commonly known to the *Arabians* by that name. *Leunclavius*, *Pandect. Turc. nū. 232*: *A vicinis Persis & Turcis ea Regio Curdistān appellatur, quam nunc quoque Keldan vocant Arabes, id est, Chaldaeam*. And so much *Stephanus* ἡμεῖς ἰδὲ, had observed: *Chaldia, Regio Armeniæ. Incola Chaldi*. But other *Chaldi* in *Armenia* there are none but the *Cardi*, formerly called *Cartii* and *Curtii*, and at the first *Cossai*.

As for the name of *Scythia*, which Heathen Authors give this Nation, as it was suitable enough to them in regard of their often flitting and wandring, (for Historians represent them to us like right *Nomades*, and therefore they are not unjustly called by *Strabo Memoricus*) so no doubt but it was taken from their well-known name *Βεθσαν*, as the City *Bethsan*, which was re-edified and re-peopled by them, is famously known by the name of *Scythopolis*. *Plin. l. 5. c. 18.* *Scythopolin, antea Nisam, Libero Patre, sepultâ Nutrice ibi, Scythis deductis, id est, Chuthæis.* And so the Countrey from whence they came is from ultimate Antiquity remembred by the Heathen under the name of *Scythia*, being indeed *Cotau* or *Chutha*; which lying so near (as it doth) to the Mount *Gordians*, where the *Aré* is said to rest after the *Deluge*, I doubt not but it might be made appear by good proof, that this was that *Scythia Saga*, in qua *renatum ferunt mortale genus*: *Cato in Frag.* But the clearing of this would lead us into too large a Digression, and therefore I forbear it, and proceed to the prosecution of the subject in hand. Seeing the Radical Letters in the Original were the same (save the different pronounciation of a Vow-

Vowel) in all those several names of *Cissii*, *Cossai*, *Cuthai*, and *Sassii*, we need not doubt to affirm, that these were indeed the true and primitive *Ethiopians*, whom the Inhabitants of *Asia* (as *Josephus* hath told us) called *Chusai*. And hence it appears that their Etymologie is false that have derived the name of *Susiana* from שׁוּשַׁן, which in the *Persian* Tongue (they say) as well as the *Hebrew* signifies a Lilly. I will not deny but *Sushan* the Palace, and haply *Susa* the City (whence those *Susanchites* *Exra* 4.9.) might take their denomination from that Root; but certainly that Region whose ancient name was *Cissia*, (still continuing to a part of this Province in *Ptolemy's* time) and the name of the Inhabitants not onely *Cissii* but *Cossai*, could have no other original of their denomination then שׁוּשַׁן. And hereof the Inhabitants themselves give us good assurance, who (even to this day) call their Countrey, not *Susiana*, but *Cusistan*, which is neither more nor less then the Country of *Chus*. *Benjamin in Itin.* calls it כּוּזֶסְטָן *Cuzestan*; others call it *Curestan*, even as *Chus* the son of *Cham* is by *Berosus* called *Cur. Dom. Mar. Niger*, *Geog. Asia Com.* 5. *Susiana Provincia sequitur, quam quidam in partem Persidis*

*ponunt, nomen à Susa Urbe clariss. deducens; nunc à Barbaris patriâ linguâ Chus dicitur.* And no marvel it should take its name from him, who with his posterity seated himself here very early after the Flood, even before the building of *Babel*. For if *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, when he went with his rebellious Associates into the land of *Shinar* to build that *Tower*, journeyed from the *East*, as *Moses* saith they did, *Gen. 11. 2.* then in all probability the place from whence they set out was *Susiana*, which lies next East to *Babylonia*. Indeed *Chus* had a numerous posterity, whence it was that his name spread so far. Some of them passed into *Arabia* over the River *Tigris*, which I should chuse for a more probable Bounder of the Eastern and Western *Aethiopians* mentioned in *Homer*, then the *Arabian Sea*, or *Mare Rubrum*; though I know also that many Secular Writers have comprehended the *Persian Gulf* under that name. Of the Western or *Arabian Aethiopians* many Commentators have written learnedly: and if they had turned their pens to enquire after these in the East also, I doubt not but they might have found out a better interpretation of many places of Scripture then ordinarily  
hath

hath been given. As (*Ex. gr.*) where *Chus* and *Elam* are joyned together, *Esay* 11. 11. *Paras, Chus, and Phut*, *Ezek.* 38. 5. as formerly *Paras, Phut, and Lud*, *Ezek.* 27. 10. For as *Paras* and *Elam* are well known to be Eastern Nations, (to whom the *Cossai* were near neighbours,) so we should not alwaies need to goe into *Africk* and *Asia minor* for *Phut* and *Lud*, but find them nearer at hand, if we did well consider that place in *Judith*, 2. 23. And whether any help may hence be had for the better understanding of that obscure Prophecy, *Esay* 18. 1. I leave to better judgments to enquire. But surely it was not without cause that in that parallel Prophecy, *Zeph.* 3. 10. the *Chaldee Paraphrast* renders *Trans flumina* כּוּשׁ *Æthiopiæ*, by *E Regionibus ultra flumina* הַיַּרְדֵּן *Indiæ*: whether thereby he meant the less noted *India* that we have by the way touched upon, or that other more famous and better known Region removed farther towards the East: for even there also were *Cushites* or *Æthiopians*. The *Israelites* in *Nisebor* by the River *Gozan* are said *in bellum proficisci ad Regionem Cusch per viam deserti*, *Benj. in Itin.* And *Herodotus* clearly distinguishing the Eastern *Æthiopians* from the Western, joins them

them with the *Indians*, *Polymn. sive l. 7.*  
 τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθίοπες ἔσονται  
 ἔρχεσθαι Ἀφρικῆς οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς  
 Αἰθίοπες (δὲ οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τούτου) ἀποκα-  
 τίσσονται τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, *Ethiopibus quidem*  
*qui sunt ultra Egyptum & Arabibus pra-*  
*erat Arfames: qui verò ab ortu Solis erant*  
*Ethiopes (bisariam enim militabant) or-*  
*dinati erant cum Indis.* And not onely  
 long after did *Philostratus* find *Ethiopians*  
 about the River *Indus*, but *Homer* long be-  
 fore had set them as far East as the rising  
 of the Sun. And whether the River *Gihon*  
 might not anciently compass even these  
 also, I cannot certainly affirm: but the  
 confounding of this River not onely with  
*Indus* but with *Ganges* also (by so many  
 good Writers) might seem to intimate, as  
 if they were believed anciently to have  
 communicated in their Streams. And their  
 opinion falls not far short of this, who have  
 found the Fountain of *Ganges* in the Moun-  
 tains of *Media*; as *Artemidorus*, that anci-  
 ent and famous Geographer, is said to have  
 done: and that of the fore-cited *Benjamin*, if  
 we were certain it were true, might render  
 it probable, who finds a Stream of *Tigris*  
 emptying it self into the Sea over against  
 the Island *Nikrokis*, which *Constantine*  
 L'Em-



L'Emperour supposes to be *Zeilan*, formerly called *Nanigeris*; an Island once famed with an opinion of *Paradise*, a River whereof *Ganges* is still held to be, by the native *Indians*, who yearly testify that credulity by many superstitious Ceremonies. But the most remarkable Testimony is, the Draught of this River in that famous *Tabula Itineraria antiqua* lately set out by *Pentinger*, wherein the Head of it being set much about the place where we have found it, it is drawn quite through the East, and falls into the Oriental Ocean, having taken in by the way the River *Ganges*. If any ask how it should come to pass then, that the Course of it now should be intercepted, (if indeed it be wholly intercepted,) I answer, they will cease to wonder, if they consider not onely what *Strabo* hath related of a great Earthquake, whereby a great change happened among the Rivers in those parts, *Geog. l. 1. Δύρεϊ δὲ τὰς Ῥαγάδας, τὰς καὶ Μηδίας, ὁνομαζάσθηναι, καὶ σημαῖν Ῥαγάδας τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας γῆν, ὥστε ἀναστῆναι πύλιν συχνάς, καὶ κόμας, καὶ ποταμὸν περικλάσει μεταβολὰς δέξασθαι, Et Duris refert Rhagades, quæ in Media sunt, nomen inde habere, quod Terra-motibus rupta fuerit terra apud Caspias portas, complurisque*  
*everse*

*versa Urbes & Pagi, ac Fluviorum varia inciderint mutationes:* but remember also what formerly hath been noted of *Cyrus* cutting the Stream of *Gyndes* into so many Channels as might well suffice to exhaust the greatest River. But I do not take upon me to maintain this, nor is there any need that I should, it being not much material to our purpose, seeing that Course of this River which we have formerly asserted from so good authority, is abundantly sufficient both to clear and justify the Geography of *Moses*.

## CHAP. XII.

*Another Division of Tigris; and the River Hiddekel with good Evidence found out.*

AND now there remains but one Division more, fully to compleat the number of the *four Heads*; and this we have occasionally touched upon before in producing the testimony of *Pliny*, who gives us a clear account of it, *Hist. l. 6. c. 27.* *Tigris ex Armenia acceptis fluminibus claris, Partheniâ ac Nicephorione, Arabas, Aroeos, Adiabenosque determinans, & quam*

quam diximus Mesopotamiam faciens, lustratis Montibus Gordyæorum circa Apamiam Mefenes oppidum, citra Seleuciam Babyloniam CXXV. M. P. divisus in alveos duos, altero Meridiem ac Seleuciam petit, Mefenen perfundens, altero ad Septentrionem flexus, ejusdem Gentis tergo Campos Cauchas secatur. The same Division is also remembred by Stephannus ὡς πάλ, who findes the point of it in the same place that Pliny doth, viz. about Apamia: the Northern Stream he calls by the name of *Tigris minor*, and the Southern *Delas*, which is but a contraction of *Debelath*, or (as otherwise it is written) *Degelath* and *Diglath*, and *Tegelath* and *Tiglath*, and is the same no doubt with the Hebrew word תלעת, (T being pronounced like G, as in *Gomorrha*) and in Greek is as much as Διωρυξ, in Latin *Aqueductus*, and accordingly is translated in 1 Kings 18. 32. *Geog. Nub.* calls it *Dogial*, part. 6. clim. 4. where in like manner he makes mention of this Division agreeable to the former. Tacrit est ex Urbibus Mausel, jacetque ab Occidente Tigris, & opponitur illi in mediterraneo Urbs Hatdher. Prope Tacrit separat se à Tigri flumen Dogial, quod ejus terminos secans excurrit ad dominium Sora-man-rai, illudque

que alluit usque ad partes vicinas Baghdat.  
 If any haply think this an inconsiderable  
 Division, because not long after their par-  
 ting these Streams meet again, viz. at or  
 before they attain *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*,  
 as *Pliny* intimates *loc. cit.* where he imme-  
 diately subjoyns, *Ubi re-medvere aqua,*  
*Pasitigris appellatur: Postea recipit ex Me-*  
*dia Choaspem; atque (ut diximus) inter*  
*Seleuciam & Ctesiphontem uersus, in*  
*Lacus Chaldaicos se fundit:* To this we  
 answer, That it is more then probable that  
*Pliny* was deceived by the homonymy of  
 the word *Tigris*, which River shedding se-  
 veral Streams from it, and all still carrying  
 the name of the original Stream, he might  
 easily mistake one for another. Truly I  
 think he will hardly persuade any that hath  
 attentively considered the Chorography of  
 these parts, that the River *Choaspes* fell into  
 that Stream of *Tigris* that runs by *Seleucia*  
 and *Ctesiphon*; and yet it fell into *Tigris*  
 too: for even this Stream we are in search  
 of was (even now) by *Stephanus* called *Ti-*  
*gris minor*; and with this it fell, not into  
 the *Chaldeen Lakes*, (as *Pliny* saith, for no  
 part of *Tigris* fell into them, but they were  
 wholly made by the effusion of *Euphrates*)  
 but into the Lakes of *Susiana*, (whose Coast  
 towards

towards the *Persian Gulf* was very fenny, as *Strabo* notes) and in particular that very Lake whereinto we observed the former River to fall, as will immediately appear. But be it so, that some of the waters of this Northern Stream fell into the Southern at the same place where *Pliny* saith they did; yet certain it is that it was not the whole body of the Stream, but some small Chancel drawn out of it, which served notwithstanding to make the inclosed portion of ground a perfect Island, and is therefore by *Pliny* himself, as well as *Stephanus*, called *Mesene*. But that the main Stream held his Course still farther on towards the North-east, we have the warrant of *Pliny* himself to assure us, who finds a Town situate upon the Banks of it at so large a distance from *Selencia*, as will forbid us to think it could in any probability run back again unto it: for thus he writes in the fore-mentioned Book and Chapter: *In Septentrionali Tigris alveo Oppidum est Babytace. Abest à Sulis CXXXV. M. pass. Ibi mortalium soli aurum in odio contrahunt, id desodiunt, nè quo cui sit in usu.* If *Babytace* were removed but 135 miles from *Susa*, it was removed at a far greater distance from *Selencia*; for betwixt that and *Susa* himself  
a little

a little before had set no less then 450 miles, out of which if we deduct 135, there remains still 315 miles; all which this River having run before it attained *Babylace*, it is altogether incredible that the main Stream should ever turn back again so suddenly, as to fall into *Tigris* about *Seleucia*: and indeed it did not, but held its Course still on forward even to *Susa* it self, having first met with the former River *Gibon*, and *Chaspes* with it, and afterward the River *Eulaus*, by which access of Waters it became a mighty Stream, and flowing on still towards the *Persian Gulf* it carried all these Rivers along with it under its own name of *Tigris*, as we have learned before out of *Strabo*. And hence it is that *Benjamin* in his *Itinerary* calls the River that passed through *Susa* *Tigris*, upon a Bridge whereof, that joyned the two parts of the City, he tells of a memorable Monument of Glass hung up in iron chains, made at the cost of a *Mahometan* Prince in honour of the Prophet *Daniel*, if we may believe him. Nor is the name which this River holds at this day much dissonant from its ancient appellation: for in our modern Maps the River which runs by *Susa* is called *Tiritri*, which *Constantine L'Empereur* in his

Notes

Notes upon the place of *Benjamin* supposeth to have been corrupted from *Tigris*. And no doubt but this *Tigris* was it whose Chanel *Eumenes* filled with the slaughtered bodies of *Antigonus's* Souldiers attempting to force a passage over it: for so it is expressly called by *Diodorus Siculus*, who notwithstanding had already told us of their quiet and uninterrupted passage over another *Tigris* long before they attained the place of this Defeat: for that was within a daies journey of *Susa*, where *Eumenes* had his Head-quarters, having fortified the passages of this *Tigris* that flowed by it, while *Antigonus* was yet in *Babylonia* recruiting his Army, and framing a Bridge of Boats over that other Stream of *Tigris* that ran by *Selencia*, which accordingly he did, and passed his Army over by it into *Susiana* without any lett or hindrance, finding no opposition, till, attempting the passage of this *Tigris*, he received that remarkable Overthrow. An evidence so clear of this Stream of *Tigris* which we now speak of, that it is a wonder some good Chronologers should not hereby rather have been led on to the observation of it, then so unjustly (as they do) to charge *Diodorus* with a contradiction of which he is no way guilty,

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save

save only through the default of their own mistake. Now if *Tigris* were the same that *Moses* calleth *Hiddekel*, as *Vatablus* saith is agreed upon by all, we need not doubt to affirm this to be the third River of *Paradise*, as finding it not onely passing under that name, but holding a Course so answerable to the Description of *Moses* as might serve alone to exclude all doubting. *Gen. 2. 14.* And the name of the third River is *Hiddekel*; that is it which goeth toward the East of *Assyria*. And such and so agreeable to the same point of the Compass is the Current of this Stream as *Pliny* hath set it, that we cannot desire a better Commentary. For if (as we have heard him say) this Stream, after its breaking from the other at *Apamia*, ran upward towards the North, (*ad Septentrionem flexus*) then it must of necessity bend its Course towards the East of the ancient *Assyria*: so that howsoever it watereth also the South side of that Region; yet this intimation of its inclination towards the North brings it up also to the East, with so large a bend as may well satisfie as much as the word *קרח* doth require. And indeed that Testimony of *Pliny* doth represent to our minds the Current of this River at a higher draught towards



wards the North, then we know well how to express in a Map, keeping any tolerable correspondence with the Tables of *Ptolemy*. Besides, the Prophet *Daniel* hath abundantly secured us that this River was *Hiddekel*, by the circumstances of that famous Vision which he saw upon the Banks of it, *Dan.* 10. where v. 4. he calls it *the great River, which is Hiddekel*. For if at the time when he saw that Vision he was *President of Susiana*, and ordinarily resident upon his charge in the *Metropolis* of that Province, or the place where the Royal Court used to be kept, viz. *Susban the Palace*, (as may be gathered from *Dan.* 8. 2. and is sufficiently proved by *Scaliger*, both in his *Proleg. in lib. De Emend. Temp.* and in his *Nota ad Frag.*) then there is no more doubt to be made that *Hiddekel* in him is the same Stream of *Tigris* which Secular Writers have found flowing through *Susiana*, then that *Ulas* is the same River with that which by them is usually called *Eulas*: *ibid.* And here also it is much to consider what mis-shapen resemblances of the true name of this River have been continued to posterity even amongst Heathen Authors. For while it runs through *Susiana* in its own proper Chancel, and hath not yet mingled its waters

with the River *Eulæus*, it is by *Pliny* called *Hedypnus*, l. 6. c. 27. *Recipit amnem Hedypnum præter Asylum Persarum venientem, & unum ex Sufianis*. Some have written it *Hedypus*, but *Jo. Boccacius* calls it (in like manner as *Pliny* doth) *Hedypnus*, lib. de Fluminib. *Hedypnus fluvius est Sufianorum Persarum in Eulæum flumen decurrens*. *Strabo* is observed to call this same River *Hedyphon*, or, as others write it, *Helyphon*, *Geog.* l. 16. Ἡρίδης ἢ ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἡδυφῶντι ποταμῷ Σελδία καὶ μεγάλη πόλις, Σολόκη δ' ὀκαλεῖτο πρότερον, *Capta est etiam prope flumen Hedyphontem Seleucia magna Civitas, quæ prius Soloce vocabatur*. Now how easily these corrupted names of *Hedypus* or *Hedypnus*, *Hedyphon* or *Helyphon*, might be formed out of the true and proper name of this River *Hiddekel*, I think none will unwillingly grant, that hath been but lightly acquainted with the many far more unlikely changes of foreign (or, as they used to call them, barbarous) words, made usually both by *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

## CHAP. XIII.

Proving the other Branch of this Division to be *Pishon*.

AND as we doubt not but this Stream was *Hiddekel*; so there is no more doubt to be made that the remaining Stream was *Pishon*. And this we are the more emboldened to affirm, because here we fall in with company: for not onely *Junius*, but divers other Learned men both before and after him, have been awakened to the observation of this, by the name *Pasitigris*, or *Pisotigris*, given it by *Pliny* and others; being indeed no other then its own proper name compounded with the common and vulgar name of this River. Whereunto we may adde the Testimony of *Xenophon*, who calls this River *Physcum amnem*, (by an easie mistake for *Phison*) *De Expeditione Cyri lib. 2. A Tigride verò quartis castris M. pass. LXXX. confectis, ad Physcum amnem pervenere. Hujus latitudo pass. erat XX. Ponte is jungebatur. Nec longè aberat ampla Civitas, Opis nomine.* If any prejudice this Testimony as impertinent, because *Xenophon* saith that they

had passed *Tigris* already, and left it 80 miles behind their back, before they came to the River *Physcus*: let them but consult the History, and they shall be forced to acknowledge, that *Xenophon* had often before this called the Branches of *Euphrates* by the name of *Tigris*, and that this Branch which they now had passed from was *Nahar-malca*, the uppermost of its Streams, from which directing their march towards *Affyria*, (which afterward they entered into not far from the River *Lycus*, having first passed the former Stream of this Division of *Tigris* at a Town called *Cana*, after they had marched with it on their left hand some while in the *Campi Caucha*, or, as he calls them, *Solitudines Mediae*) this *Physcus amnis*, which they met withall in the mid-way, could be no other then the remaining Stream of the same Division, which *Moses* calleth *Phison*. And that it was a part of *Tigris*, we have farther assurance from the City *Opis* situate so near unto it, and lying a little above the Bridge where they passed over it. For in the same manner hath *Strabo* also described the Decourse of the River *Tigris* by this City, *Geog. l. 11. In intimo Paludis recessu Tigris in voraginem incidens, longoque spatio*  
infra

*infra terram labens, apud Chaloniidem emergit: inde ad Opin & Semiramidis murum procurrit.* Quintus Curtius is observed several times to call the River *Tigris* by the name of *Phasis*, (being so taught by the Natives of those parts) which *D. Marinus Niger* imputeth as an Errour to him, *Geog. Asia Com.* 3. Curtius *Tigrim Fluvium Phasim incolas vocare ait, nescio an errore inductus, quemadmodum de Tanai fecit.* But if he erred no more about *Tanais* then he did about *Tigris*, our charity will easily absolve him from much guilt, and judge him not onely worthy of a pardon, but of thanks, for acquainting us so honestly (though not without some little imperfection) with the testimony of the Natives touching the name of this River in their own language: for better witnesses then these we cannot desire, and we have great presumptions to believe, that howsoever it seemed to sound *Phasis* in his ears, yet it was *Phison* in their mouths, the true and ancient name of this River. The same pardonable mistake is noted in *Pasitigris* for *Phisotigris*: and some have observed the like in the *pranomen* of the City *Charax*, built not far from the mouth of this River, where it emptieth it self into the *Persian Gulf*. For

whereas *Dion* in the Life of *Trajan* calls it *Σαφίνου Χάραξ*, and so doth *Stephanus* *ἐπιπύλ.* in *Pliny* l. 6. c. 27. it is *Pasines*; *Junius* thinks it ought to be read *Phisonis Charax*, as taking denomination from this River. But because those Authors agree that it took that name from *Spasinus* or *Pasines*, (a petty King in those parts) who re-edified it, we will not press that Conjecture too far, but rather, turning our eyes from the Out-let of this River to its Fountain, take notice of that Field that lay near about it, which hath retained the name of this River so entirely, that, notwithstanding the succession of so many Ages, no corruption hath eaten into it. *Procop. De Edif. Justin. l. 1. Martyropoli ad Solem occidentem locus adjacet Phison appellatus.* If this place (whatsoever it was) lay to the West of *Martyropolis*, it lay not far from the Fountains of *Tigris*; so that in all likelihood its Stream ran either through or by it, and (as may be supposed) gave it this name. Whereupon will farther follow, that though this name of *Phison* be properly due to this fourth and last Division of the Streams of *Tigris*, yet that it shed it self also through the whole Current of this River, even to its Fountain: and

and this (perhaps) was the reason why the uppermost and greatest of these Streams (which we have found to be *Gihon*) was by the Ancients commonly called *Phison*. Yea *Moses* himself may be supposed therefore to have named *Phison* the first amongst those Rivers, because it was the main Stream out of which the rest did flow.

CHAP. XIV.

*Of the Land of Havilah, where there is Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx-stone.*

AS for the Land of *Havilah*, *Chavilah*, *Evilah*, and *Evilath*, (as it is differently written by several Writers) which this River compassed, *Gen. 2. 11.* we shall better determine what and where it was, when we have taken notice that *Moses*, *Gen. 10.* makes mention of two men under this name, both Heads of Families, and giving denomination to their several Countries. The one was *Havilah* the son of *Folthan*, whose posterity are said to inhabit from *Mesha* as thou goest to *Sephar*, a Mount of the East, *v. 30.* Both which bounds *Funius* finds in *Mesopotamia*; taking *Mesha* for

for *Mount Masius*, and *Sephar* for *Sipp-ha-ra*, a City that stood upon the uppermost Stream of *Euphrates*. But this Interpretation may well be suspected as doubtful, because to justify it he is constrained to adde a preposition more into the Text then *Moses* will own. For whereas in the Original it is ספרא דר הקדם (*id est, ad verbum*) *Ingradiendo te Sepharam montem Orientis*; *Funius* renders it, *Quà venis Sepharam, ad montes Orientis usque*. Which liberty, how tolerable or necessary soever it may be elsewhere, is not easily to be allowed here, there being no other just cause of this swerving, but a prejudicate opinion that *Sephar* was the name of a City, which *Moses* expressly makes the name of a *Mountain*. Much more probable I take to be the interpretation of *Iosephus*, (followed by so many of the Ancients, *Euseb. Hieronym. &c.*) who gives us this *Commentary* upon *Moses's* words, *Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 7. Hi à Cophene flumine Indiae ad Assyriam usque habitant*: so it is in *Gelenius's Edition*, but certainly corrupted; for *S. Hierom*, quoting that Testimony two several times, (*lib. De loc. Heb.*) hath it, *Feriam regionem*: But the *Greek Copy* of *Eusebins* lately set out by

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Boufrerius hath (no doubt) still retained the true reading, and gives us the best account of Moses's meaning: Σωφίρα ὄρη αἰατῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἰνδῇ, ὅθι κατῴκησαν υἱοὶ Ἰεκταν, υἱὸς Ἑβερ, ἢ φασὶν Ἰώσππ. ἀπὸ Κοφῆν ποταμὸν τὴν Ἰνδὴν ἰσὺς αὐτῆς Σηρίας κατὰ τοὺς, *Sophira mons orientis juxta Indiam, apud quem habitârunt filii Jectan, filii Heber, quos ait Josephus à Cophene fluvio & Regione Indiae usque ad ipsam Seriam occupasse.* Whereby it is evident that the corrupted name of *Feria* and *Affyria* in *Josephus* was indeed *Seria*, or the Countrey of the *Seres*, who had their name from *סר* that signifieth *Oriens*, because they were Inhabitants of the utmost part of the known world Eastward: between whose Countrey and *India* lay *Mount Sephar*, (the East bound of the sons of *Jectan*) which by *Arrianus* (in his *Periplus-Erythrai maris*) is called *Pyrrhus Mons*, in *Ptolemy* *Bepyrus*, but in *Mercator's* Tables *Sepyrus*, or rather *Sephyrrus*, and was no other then that long ledge of Mountains that, taking rise from near the *Indian Ocean*, stretch themselves far up to the North, and separate betwixt *Indostan* and the Kingdom of *China* to this day. And for the Western Bound, the River *Cophen*, that being well known

known to be the first of those Rivers Westward that make up the full Stream of *Indus*; *Mesha* in *Moses* is either the famous Mount *Nysa*, (where *India* begins) called also (perhaps) *Mysa*, even as *Paropamisus* (the same Mount, but compounded with another word) is by divers called *Paropamisus* and *Paropamissus*; or else it was the Region of the *Affaceni* lying under it, whose true name indeed was *Massaceni*, as appears by their Metropolis *Massaca*, (or rather *Massacara*, i. e. *Massa civitas*) situate near the River *Cophen*, as *Arrianus* testifies *lib. Rerum Indic. in initio*. And that *Havilah* should have a dwelling betwixt these Bounds, is very credible from *Moses's* joining him with his brother *Ophir*, *Gen. 10. 29.* whose Seat was so near this Mountain, that *Ensebius* (and after him *S. Hierom*) confound their names, or rather derive the Mountain's name from the Man's, affirming that the Gold which *Solomon's Navy* brought from *Ophir*, was from this Mount *Sophera*, *loc. citat. & supra in voce Ophir*: and so *Hesychius*; *Σοφείρ, χρυσά οὐ καὶ πολύμησι λίθοι καὶ ὁ χρυσός, ἐκ Ἰνδίας*. But *Tzetzes* hath retained its right name *ophyr*, finding it about the same place; and gives us particular notice, that it was the same Countrey

Countrey with that which in *Ptolemy* and others is called *Chersonesus Aurea*, a *Peninsula* lying betwixt *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Magnus*, (or rather *Mangus*) called at this day *Malacca*.

*Insula est Indica quam (Poeta) Auream vocant;*

*Alii verò Peninsulam dicunt, sed non Insulam.*

*Hebræi autem Ophyr linguâ suâ vocant.*

*Habet enim metalla auri & lapides omnifarios.*

*Excellenter magis verò Prasimum lapidem.*

And if this were the Region of *Ophir*, no question but the *Evilai*, remembred by good Authors as dwelling near about the same parts, were the true posterity of his brother *Havilah*. *Vetus Orbis Descriptio*, (lately set out by *Gothofredus*) reckoning up the Nations which lay next to the West of the *Seres*, nameth first the *Brachmani*: *Μετὰ τούτους πρὸς ἡμεῖς ἡ χώρα τῆς Εὐδαίμων* & αὐτοὶ ἀναρχοί, & χερδὸν τὴν τῆς Διῶν ζυλὴν ζῶντι. & τούτων γὰρ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων & αὐτῶν, Post hos ab alio latere est regio *Evilæorum*; qui & ipsi *Regum expertes* sunt, & penè *Deorum vitam* viventes. *Horum terra est mansionum triginta duarum.* In that  
he

he describes them *penè Deorum vitam viventes*, he may seem to intimate their Sacred Function, inasmuch as out of this Tribe were their *Hierophanta* chosen among the  
 \* *Indians*; as may appear also by *Epiphanius*, who in like manner joyneth them with the *Brachmans*, *Exposit. Fidei Cathol. num. 12.* Ἰνδοὶ δὲ, οἱ Εὐίλοι καὶ Λόμβοι καὶ Βαρύμας ὁ ἑστὶς (leg. Βραχμανῆς) Ἐμπίστοι, ἱεροφάνται, καὶ νεωχόων Κωνικῶν πᾶσι δὲ, *Indorum verò, Evilæi appellati & Brachmanes; Græcorum Hierophanta, & Aedituorum Cynicorum turba.* And we may well presume that from them that double Region took name, which he calls Εὐλάτ τῶ μικρᾷ, καὶ τῶ μεγάλῃ, in *Anchoret. n. 58.* Through both which seeing he finds the River *Phison* flowing, his Testimony might well enough save us farther labour in this search, if *Phison* were the same to him that it is to us. But seeing it is manifest that he (as divers of the Ancients besides) calls that Stream of this River by the name of *Phison* which we have found to be *Gihon*, (and is extended by them as far as *Ganges*;) we having bestowed this title upon *Pasitigris*, are bound to find another Land of *Havilah* besides this in the *East-Indies*, much farther removed towards

wards the West. And we doubt not but the *second Havilah* will help us herein, who being the son of *Cush*, *Gen. 10. 7.* his dwelling may be presumed not to be far removed from *Susiana*. For though we have denied that Countrey to be *Havilah*, as finding no good warrant to assert it, and willing to reserve it to his Father *Cbus*, to whom of right it did belong: yet seeing divers of his Brethren passed over into *Arabia*, which was the next-adjoyning Countrey to the West, and separated from it at no greater distance then the Stream of this River, which compassed a good part of it, in such manner as *Moses* intimates; we need not despair to find him there amongst his kindred, and his dwelling seated in such wise as *Moses* hath described it. And hereof we have the Testimony of *Moses* himself to assure us, who describing the dwelling of the *Ismaelites*, (the known Inhabitants of *Arabia* the Desert) sets their Western Bound at *Sur*, which lies in the way to *Egypt*, and the Eastern at *Havilah*, lying in the way to *Assyria*. *Gen. 25. 18.* And they dwell from *Havilah* to *Shur*, that is before *Egypt*, as thou goest toward *Assyria*. And in the same position did *Saul* many Ages after find them, when he was sent

sent to make war against the *Amalekites*, 1. Sam. 15. 7. And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Ægypt. And though no question but in after-times they underwent the same Changes that the rest of their neighbours the *Arabians* did; yet they still continued a Nation of such note, that Heathen Authors also have made mention of them. For *Strabo* speaking of the way betwixt *Petra* in *Nabathæa* and *Babylon*, (which he makes 100 ICC stadia) sets out the passage of that journey in this wise: Πᾶσι μὲν πρὸς αἰατολαῖς διεγνῆς, ὁ δὲ ὅτι ὁ δὲ Χαυλοταίων, ὁ δὲ Ἀγραίων, Τὸτα αὐτὴν *via* versus *Ortum* *astivum* [tendit] per adjacentes *Arabum* gentes, *Nabataeos* scilicet, *Chaulotæos*, & *Agræos*. Where, that by the *Chaulotaans* are to be understood the posterity of *Chavilah*, there is no more question to be made, then that by the *Agræi* he meant the *Hagaræns* or *Hagarites*, who in *Psal.* 83. 6. are joyned with the *Edomites*, *Ishmaelites*, and *Moabites*: and in 1 *Chron.* 5. 19, 20. it is plainly intimated, that their Countrey lay to the East of the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manasses*: farther East of

of which those *Chaulotaans* dwelt, even as far as the Stream of *Phison*. So that whereas *Strabo*, in that Journal betwixt *Petra* and *Babylon*, sets the *Chaulotaans* next to the *Nabathaans*, and before the *Agreans*; it is not because the *Agreans* dwelt more East then the *Chaulotaans*, but because the *Chaulotaans* dwelt farther to the South then the *Agreans*, possessing some part of the Countrey that lay betwixt them and the *Nabathaans* in the way to *Babylon*. And so is *Dionysius Afer* to be understood, who in like manner remembreth both these Nations, save that the *Chaulotai* in *Strabo* are by him called *Gablasi*, in *Perieg.*

Ἀλλ' ἔτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄριστον κλεινὸν Λιβανόθεν  
Ἀφροίσι ναίοντες ἐν περὶ μὲν Ναβαταίων,  
Ἀλχί 3 Χαβλαίοις τὴν ἄγαν ἄλκιον ἐν τῇ γαίᾳ  
Χατραμῖτις ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν Περσίδα

Verum enimvero primi ultra declivitatem  
Libani

Divites habitant cognomento Nabataei  
Prope autem Chablasique & Agreii, quos  
juxta tellus

Chatramitica incolitur, & regione Persica  
terra.

And this gives some probability to the  
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Conjecture of *August. Stenchns Eugub. Cosmog. in Gen. c. 2.* that the *Chanchabeni*, which *Ptolemy* sets along the Current of *Euphrates* and to the South of *Babylonia*, were indeed *Chaulatheni* ( $\lambda$  being changed into  $\chi$  and  $\theta$  into  $\epsilon$ , which was easie.) However, no man can well deny that those *Evaleni* mentioned by *Glaucus*, an ancient Historian, (*l. 2. Arabicorum*, as he is cited by *Stephanus*  $\text{ἐν τῷ } \lambda$ .) were the true posterity of this *Havilah*. And so were those *Blislas* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, (*Tab. Asia 6.*) for that they were indeed *Evisai* *Pliny* persuades us, who calls the Hills that lay about them *Montes Eblisai*. And if any object that these were without the compass of the River *Phison*, because they are in *Arabia Felix*, whereas this River emptied it self into the *Persian Gulf* at *Teredon*, (now called *Balsara* :) I answer, It is true, *Ptolemy* indeed finds the end of its Course about that City, but we have cause to believe that *Ptolemy* is herein defective: for not onely *Philostorgius apud Niceph. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 9. c. 19.* makes the Island *Messene*, which lies betwixt the two jaws of this River emptying it self into the Sea, much larger then *Ptolemy's* description will bear, but also *Geog. Nub.* finds a Stream  
(at



(at least) of this River flowing still on to the South, and upon the bank of it two great Cities, *Manbeg* and *Madar*. And *Petrus Texeira* (a learned man, and an expert Traveller in those parts) assures us that it reached as far South as *Catifa* near unto *Baharen*: for thus he writes in his *Itinerary*, relating his passage up *Tigris* after they had sailed the *Persian Gulf*; *Ubi octo aut novem leucas adverso flumine ascenderis, dividit se Fluvius in duo brachia; quorum unus labens versus meridiem Sinum Persicum ingreditur in Katifa juxta Barhen, ita ut à Continente veluti dividat regionem quæ in longitudinem patet supra octoginta leucas*. Which large measure as it might alone assure us that the Island made by this Stream took up a great part of the Western coast of the *Persian Gulf*; so it is farther confirmed by the situation of *Baharen*, (near which was the mouth of this River) for it is placed by *Ulughbekius* in the Latitude of 23 Deg: whis is almost as far South as the Western bottom of the *Persian Gulf* in *Ptolemy*. All which long Course of this River being anciently inhabited by *Havilah*, (the Author of a populous Nation, and spreading far) it will now be no hard matter to find within the compass of this Countrey all

those precious things mentioned by *Moses*,  
*Gen. 2. 11, 12. viz. Gold, Bdellium, and*  
*the Onyx-stone.* For who hath not heard  
of the Gold of *Arabia*? And whereas  
*Moses* seems to denote some excellency in  
it above ordinary, by adding, *And the Gold*  
*of that Land is good:* so also doth *Diodorus*  
*Siculus*, whose words are a sufficient Com-  
mentary, *Biblioth. l. 3. c. 12. Effoditur in Ara-*  
*bia Aurum, quod non igni decoquitur, ut apud*  
*alios consuevit, sed evestigio effossum, mucibus*  
*in castaneis simile reperitur: colore est ita lu-*  
*cido, ut pretiosos lapides ab artificibus aure*  
*inclusos splendidiore reddat.* Not to menti-  
on the Gold of *Parvaim*, 2 Chron. 3. 6,  
which *Junius* supposes to have been fetched  
from *Barbaria*, which was a City in this part  
of *Arabia*, as appears by *Pliny* l. 6. s. 28. And  
as for *חמרלח אבן וזשור*, though there be  
difference amongst *Expositors* what they  
were, some taking the former (*Bedelach*) for  
a precious Stone, others for a Tree, and the  
most for a precious Gumme issuing out of  
that Tree, in colour white like unto *Manna*,  
*Num. 11. 7. Exod. 16. 31.* and the latter (*Sho-*  
*ham*) some translating the *Onyx*, (as our *En-*  
*glish* and others) some the *Beryll*, as the *Chal-*  
*dee Barla*, and the *Arabick al Belar*, and  
the *Septuagint* *Βήρυλλος*, in *Exod. 28. 20.*  
*Storia* what-

whatsoever they were, (if they were any of these) they were undoubtedly to be found in this Coast. For if *Bdellium* were a sweet Gumme, (as is most likely) the Tree that yielded it grew in this soil, as *Dioscorides* witnesseth lib. 1. cap. 69. *Bdellium alii Bolchou appellant, alii Madelcon: Lacryma est Saracenicae arboris*, (and the Countrey of the *Saracens* we well know was taken in his time to be here.) Or if it were a kind of Pearl, *Benjamin* assures us it was to be found about *Catifa*, (near which we have found the Out-let of this River.) And for the *Beryll* and *Onyx* and other precious Stones, this Countrey is so well known to yield them even to this day, that it is altogether needless to produce the testimony of the Ancients: onely (because it serves so well to clear the words of *Moses*) let us take notice of the report that *Nearchus* (Admiral of *Alexander's* Fleet) made of the Western Coast of the *Persian Gulf*, which lay upon the land of *Havilah*. *Strabo* Geog. l. 16. *Abyu* 3, 8cc. *Dicit autem in Perlicae ora initio Insulam esse, in qua multi & pretiosi Uniones gignantur: in aliis vero clari & pellucidi lapilli. In Insula quoque ante Euphratem arbores Thus redolentes nasci, quarum radices fractae succum*

*succum effundunt.* As in this latter clause, among those odoriferous Trees that yielded such excellent juice we may well believe *Bdellium* was not wanting: so in the former, amongst those *Unions* and *precious Stones*, we may be as sure that there was both the *Beryll* and the *Onyx*. And that it was thus in the In-land, as well as about the Sea-coast, *Diod. Siculus* is a competent witness, from whom those that desire it may receive farther satisfaction, *loc. citat.* And hence it was that this Countrey growing famous for those rich Commodities, (as it appears to have been of old by *Moses* taking notice of it) this part of the Land of *Havilah* was by Secular Geographers assigned to that part of *Arabia* that vulgarly (and not undeservedly) goes under the glorious title of *Arabia Felix*.

## CHAP. XV.

An Enquiry where the Region of Eden lies.

HAVING thus finished the Description of the River with its *four Heads*, it remaineth now that we turn our eyes back again, to see if we can discover any thing more

more perfectly concerning the Region of *Eden*, and the Situation of *Paradise* in it. And though we well know how obnoxious to exceptions such particularizing is, yet having engaged our selves thus far, and already discovered some marks in *Moses* to guide us in this search, we shall not refuse to doe our best endeavour to finish that also. As for the Limits of *Eden*, I think it lies not in the wit of any man at this day to set us out punctually and exactly how large or narrow the compass of that Countrey was in *Moses's Chorography*: yet seeing himself hath told us that the Spring of this River was in *Eden*, he hath left us assured that it was either the same, or at least a part of that Countrey which Secular Geographers call *Sophane*, lying betwixt the Mountains *Mafius* and *Anti-Taurus*, which did so overshadow it on both sides, (though it self also were full of lesser Hills) that from thence it seems to have taken its denomination: for *ΒΟ* or *ΒΥ* (for *Eustath. Comment. in Dionys. Perieg.* calls it *Τζοφάβω* for *Τζοφάβω*) is as much as *obtegere vel obumbrare*; and so this name was therefore given it, *cò quòd verticibus Taurinis umbratur*, as *Ammianus* speaks in the description of *Amida* a famous City of this Province,

lib. 18. And it is not unlikely but we shall find the place we seek for in these parts, if we call to mind in what manner and with what words *Cl. Marinus Victor* hath formerly described unto us the nature and quality of that part of this Region where we have already discovered the Fountain of this River, calling it *Armenia Salus ac Medica Tempe*: which is so exact a Paraphrase of *Eden*, and so fully consonant to the words of *Moses*, that no Poet could have given us a better. Besides, the name *Anthemusia* given to this Region, if we pursue it to its first Original, hath much pregnancy in it to evince this. For if we translate *Ανθεμωια* out of *Greek* into *Hebrew*, (which was very near the vulgar language of the Natives of those parts) what other word could we chuse to render it by but *גן עדן*: Truly their significations differ no more then a flowery and fragrant place doth from a place of pleasure. And that this name was anciently appropriated to the Region of *Sophene*, as it is easie to gather out of *Strabo*, so it is observed to our hand by *D. Marinus Niger*, who limits it out with the very same Bounds, *Geog. Asia Com. 3. Sub Basilisena, inter Anti-Taurum & Masum Montes, jacet Sophena in convalle quadam,*

*quadam, Regio felix.* And the very same was the situation of *Anthemusia*: *Idem, Com. 4. Præterea Regiones in Provincia sunt Anthemusia, inter Casium (al. Masi-um) & Taurum Montes ad Armeniam, &c.* Yet in *Ptolemy's* time and after (as we may gather from *Ammianus*) it may seem to have stretched its name so far South into *Mesopotamia*, as to reach the places about *Edessa*; for *Batne municipium* (so highly extolled for the admirable delightfulness of the place by the pen of *Julian the Apostate*) is by *Ammianus* seated in *Anthemusia*. And that the *Grecians* (after they had conquered the East) did in this manner change the old name of this Countrey into another of their own language, (yet the same in signification) we may be assured from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who, mentioning some of the Cities within this Province, (and amongst the rest *Anthemusias*, remembred also by *Pliny* under the name of *Anthemusia, lib. 5, c. 25.* and *Anthemus, lib. 2, c. 26.* which we may well suppose was the same City with that which *Ezek. 27. 23.* is called *Eden*) observes by the way, that they had formerly other names, till the *Greeks* changed them. *Annal. lib. 6. At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium & Anthemu-*

themusiada, caterasque Urbes, qua, Macedonibus sita, Græca vocabula usurpant, Halumque & Artemitam Parthica Oppida recepit. However, there can be no doubt but that the children of Eden which dwelt in Thelasar, 2 Kings 19. 12. were true and native Inhabitants of this Region: for not onely other circumstances of the Text do perswade it, but the names of the places remembered with it do assure it, viz. Gozan, Haran, and Reseph, all which Cities are placed by Ptolemy in the North parts of Mesopotamia, and some of them (if I be not deceived) within the compass of Anthemusia largely taken. And though it be not easie to design the very place where Telasar was seated, nor indeed what it was, whether a Castle, a City, or a Countrey, (or perhaps all,) for Eusebius, and after him Hierom, give us no more notice of it then that it was *χωρα Συρίας*, Regio Syria, by which no doubt they meant Assyria, and understood it in no other sense, then that it was conquered and after possessed by the Assyrians: yet even that is sufficient to satisfie us that it stood not near Aden in Arabia Felix, where Benjamin dreamed that he had found it. Nor is there any great probability in the opinion of Junius, that



that it was *Thilusha*, a Castle seated in an Island of *Euphrates* not far from the borders of *Babylonia*: for beside the difference of the names, the removing of it at so far a distance from the forementioned Cities as the South Bounds of *Mesopotamia* are from the North, renders it very improbable. Nor can I subscribe to the *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast*, who affirms *Resen* (built by *Nimrod* in *Assyria*, Gen. 10. 12.) to be *Telasar*, adding this farther for the better designation of the place, that it was situate betwixt *Ninive* and *Harjath*, חַרְיַת בֵּין נִינְוֶה וְתֵלַסָּר, *Telasar inter Niniven & Harjath*. For this affords small help to us that know not what that *Harjath* was, whether *Charchathiocerta*, (the Metropolis of *Sophane*) as *Junius* supposeth, or rather that *Harra* or *Arra*, whose Territory is remembered by *Geog. Nab.* to lie within *Assyria*; betwixt which and *Ninive* if *Telasar* stood, in all likelihood it was no other in the *Paraphrast's* meaning then some place of strength in the Island of *Eden*, (famous among the Eastern Christians to this day) lying but twelve miles above *Mosul*: whereto the Opinion of *Epiphanius* may be accommodated, who calls *Resen* Ῥοβερ, by which (I suppose) he meant *Labbana*, which *Ptolemy*

*leny* placeth upon the banks of *Tigris*, at  
 or near about this Island. But though  
 I will not deny that *Telasar* in after-times  
 might be called *Resen*; yet surely *Resen*  
 in *Assyria* was none of the places which  
*Sennacherib* boasts of in his Conquests;  
 for they were belonging to other Nati-  
 ons that had other Gods, whereas this was  
 in his own native Countrey, and near his  
 Royal City: and if it should be supposed  
 that he might re-conquer it after some Re-  
 volt, yet if *Telasar* had been *Resen* in *Assy-  
 ria*, it should in reason have challenged the  
 first mention in the Catalogue of his Vi-  
 ctories in that order wherein they are set  
 down, and not after *Gozan*, *Haran*, and  
*Reseph*. More likely therefore it is that  
*Resen*, which was *Thebasar*, was that men-  
 tioned by *Geog. Nubiensis* amongst the Ci-  
 ties of *Diar-Rabiaa*, and placed betwixt  
*Amed* and *Majafarecquin*; *Part. 6. Clim. 4.*  
*De Provinciis Diar-Rabiaa sunt Nisibin,*  
*Azun, Amed, Rasiain, Majafarecquin, &c.*  
 Nor yet doth he mean thereby the *Rbisina*  
 mentioned in *Ptolemy*, as appears not one-  
 ly by the situation of it, but also because  
 he afterward remembreth that *Rbisina* by  
 the name of *Ras-alain*, *ibid.* though it is  
 true, the signification in them both is the  
 same,

same, viz. *Caput, seu Fons aqua*. And as that *Rhifina* or *Raf-alain* took that name because it stood near the Fountain of the River *Cobar*; so might this haply take the same appellation because it stood near the last Spring of *Tigris*; for so it must needs doe if it stood South of *Majafarecquin*, and North of *Amida*, which, as *Ammianus* notes *lib. 18. è latere quidem Australi geniculato Tigridis mentu subluatur propius emergentis*. And if this *Resen* were *Telasar*, we may well conjecture that the children of *Rasses*, *Judith* 2. 23. conquered by *Nabuchodonosor*, were the same with the children of *Eden* that were in *Telasar*, formerly subdued by some of the *Assyrian Kings*: for that that *Rasses* was either this *Raf-alain*, (or some place near it) the circumstances of the history plainly prove. Or if we imagine it to have been some strong Hold or Castle, it might in likelihood be seated upon that Hill out of which *Tigris* last riseth, and where the strong Hold of *Amida* after stood, remembered by *Ammianus*, and in *Geog. Nab.* called *Tur-aamdin*, and *Propugnacula A-med*, which stood a considerable distance to the North of the City, as appears by the cited Authors, and more plainly in *Not. Prov.*

Or

Or if we rather suppose it to have been a City, it is as likely to have been *Thalimasus* as any other, which *Procop. De Bel. Persico Lib. 1.* sets 40. *stad.* distant from *Amida*: for the Letter (*M*) with its foregoing Vowel being rejected, (which in foreign words often proves Epitheticall) it will become *Thalasus*, which might easily be corrupted from *Thalasus*. However, it is certain that the Children of *Eden* possessed the Confines of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, and their Countrey took up part of both. So much we learn from *Arabicus*, who twice makes mention of it under the name of *Adonis*, (by the like change of the word as the Garden of *Eden* was by the Poets fictioniously represented under the Gardens of *Adonis*.) Once he names it among the Provinces of the East, (where his Commentator *Simlerus* knows not how to expound it otherwise then by *Eden* in *Moses*.) and afterward among the Rivers: For speaking of a River which he calls *Armodius*, he describes it thus *Fluvius Armodius nascitur in Ethiopia, inlustrans Regionē Adonis & Mesopotamiam, currit mill. 724, & accipitur Sinu Persico.* Here it is evident that *Adonis* and *Mesopotamia* are neighbour Regions, and that *Adonis* lay more to the North, through which

which this River flowing, that it should find its Head in *Aethiopia* will not seem strange, if we remember what hath been noted before, and that *Aethicus* a little after finds *Tigris* also rising in the same *Aethiopia*: and in that it is said after so long a Course to empty it self into the *Persian Gulf*, it is apparent that it falls in by the way either with *Tigris* or *Euphrates*, but rather *Euphrates*, which we have before observed to pass under a name so near to this, that we may well suppose them to be the same: For as by most it is called *Arsanias*, so by *Tacitus* it is called *Arsumetes*, which so corrupt an Author as *Aethicus* is might easily change into *Armodius*. Or if this Conjecture please not, then supposing *Ar* to be the contract of *Nahar*, i.e. *Fluvius*, (as in *Pliny* *Armalchar* is *Nahar-malca*) then the remaining part *Modius* is very little different from the old name of *Euphrates*, which (as *Plutarch* tells us) was *Medus*: for so he, *Lib. De Flo.* Εὐφρατης ποταμός ἔστι Νάαρδιος, ὃν Βαβυλωνία πάλιν ἀναλάνειν ὁρᾷ ἐν ὁρίωνι Μήδων. *Euphrates Parthiae Fluvius est juxta Babylonem urbem, qui antea dictus est Medus.* So that *Armodius* is no other then the primitive and original Stream of *Euphrates*, or else some Rivolet

Rivolet running into it. And as this Testimony of *Aethicus* gives us a true and exact intelligence of the Region of *Eden*, both in its name and situation: so no less clear is the Testimony of *Sextus Rufus*, who remembreth it under the same name, and in the same place, among the Conquests of *Lucullus*. His words are these: *Tigranocertam, maximam Armeniæ Civitatem, expugnavit; Adenam, optimam Armenorum Regionem, obtinuit; per Melitenam ad Mesopotamiam descendit; Nisibin cum Fraate Rege cepit, &c.* This *Adena*, that lay in the way of *Lucullus* returning from *Tigranocerta* to *Melitene*, and from thence passing into *Mesopotamia* to *Nisibis*, could be no other then this Region of *Eden*. Indeed in some Copies it is *Madenam*, but in the Impression of *Fansoni* (which is the latest and best corrected) it is, as we have written it, *Adenam*: and we may suppose that in the original *Manuscript* it was *Hadenam* (with an aspirate,) which by changing *H* into *M* was made *Madenam*, though even that reading will not offend those that remember how *Marinus Victor* hath called the places hereabout *Medica Tempe*, and *Q. Curtius*, noting the Decourse of *Tigris* betwixt the *Cardiaci* (i. e. the *Carduchi*) and

and this Region, calls it *Mediam*, l. 5. As for the title of *optimam Armeniorum regionem*, it is the same *Encomium* that this Author afterwards in the Life of *Trajan* gives to *Anthemusia*, calling it in like manner *optimam Persidis regionem*: which as it may argue (what we have noted) that *Adena* and *Anthemusia* were the same Region, so it gives us farther to note how fully it did make good the signification of both these names, being a place of that delightfulness, that no Region of the East was able to hold compare with it. And we may well believe it was so, not onely from the temperature of the Climate in which it was seated, (viz. betwixt the Latitude of 37 and 40 Deg.) but also by the many rare and precious things that *Geographers* and *Historians* report to be found here. For not onely was it a most fruitful Soil, yielding increase at almost an incredible proportion, but it yielded precious Stones also and Gold mines, (as after will appear.) It was stored with all sorts of Trees both for use and ornament, emulating a perpetual Spring, yielding many rare and delicious Fruits, besides many medicinable Herbs, Plants and Druggs, not elsewhere to be

L found

found of like virtue or worth, *Ἐστὶ γὰρ*  
*ἀβολὸν ἡ χύμα καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀγνῶστα*  
*ἡρίσαν, καὶ ἀέριον τὸ ἀμύμον καὶ ἁλοειδὸν*  
*ἐστὶ φέρει καὶ καὶ τὰ ῥαφιδά, καὶ τὰ γαλῆνα*  
*λίαν, καὶ φέρει τὰ ἰπποτά, Nam Regis pa-*  
*scuis lata est ac germinibus; adeoque etiam*  
*fert qua semper virent, & de aromatibus*  
*Amomum. Est etiam leontopodifera, & gignit*  
*Naphtham, & Gagatem lapidem, qui ser-*  
*pentes fugat, Strabo Geog. l. 16. From which*  
 plenty of choice Commodities we may learn  
 the reason why, amongst those that traffick-  
 ed at Tyre, three Cities of this Region are  
 remembered by *Ezekiel, ch. 27. 23. Charan,*  
*Channe, and Heden.* Of *Heden* there can  
 be no doubt, and something may be intimi-  
 rated of the situation of it afterward. *Chan-*  
*ne, or Canne,* was either *Caini*, which in  
*Notit. Provinc.* is placed a little below  
*Amida*, or rather that City which gave  
 name to the Countrey where *Tigris* had its  
 last rise, which in some Copies of *Strabo* is  
 read *Chalonitis*, but by *Casaubon* *Chaoni-*  
*tis*, and *Strabo* himself acknowledgeth a  
 Region of that name adjoyning to *Assyria*.  
 And for *Charan* or *Haran*, it was not that  
 which lay so far to the South in *Mesopota-*  
*mia*, where *Abraham* dwelt; but the City



*Corra* in *Ptolemy*, whence the Region *Corrinaa*, which *Pliny* (rejecting the aspiration) calleth *Arrhene*, and lay about the place where the River of *Eden* first divides its Streams: and the same (I think) was that *Haran*, before mentioned, which adjoynd upon the Children of *Eden* which were in *Telasar*. And hereof the *Amomum* mentioned by *Strabo* may give us assurance, which grew within the territories of this City: So much I learn from *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud. l. 20. c. 2. Accersitum igitur filium maximo affectu excepit, ei que donavit Regionem qua dicitur Cæron, Amomi feracissimam. In ea servantur Arcæ reliquæ, quæ Noë fertur evasisse Diluvium, ostenditurque ibi hodie quoque videre volentibus.* But that is generally believed to have been about *Gordiaa*; adjoyning to which was this Region of *Charon* or *Charan*, which being for the most part under the dominion of the Kings of *Assyria* or *Adiabene*, (as *Josephus* there testifies) hence it was that *Virgil* called it *Assyrium amomum*, though growing indeed in *Armenia*, (as *Dioscorides* testifies) *Eclog. 4. Assyrium vulgè nascetur amomum.* And seeing it cannot be doubted, but such Aromaticall

call plants and herbs must needs perfume this Countrey with such an odoriferous and fragrant smell, as might well enough reach those parts of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria* through which *Alexander's* Army marched; I am inclinable to believe that this Countrey was it which *Q. Curtius* calleth by the name of *Arabia*, lying on their left hand in their journey to *Babylon*. *Euntibus aperit se lava Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis Regio. Campestre iter est, inter Tigrim & Euphratem, tam uber & pinguis soli, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat.* And here by the way we may correct an error in the former Book of the same Historian, who having told us of *Alexander's* passing his Army over *Euphrates*, and thereupon refreshing them for a few daies, adds, *Igitur quarto die prater Arbella penetrat ad Tigrim.* It is not easie to conceive what this *Arbella* should be, that *Alexander* marched by in his passage through *Mesopotamia* unto *Tigris*; for it is certain that *Arbella* where he gave *Darius* his last defeat was not onely beyond *Tigris*, but the River *Lyus* also. Therefore I fear not to affirm that, in stead of *prater Arbella*, it ought to be read *prater*  
rità

*ritâ Arabia*: and so *Pliny* frequently calls the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* (especially that part which lay about the Mountains, and adjoyned upon *Armenia*) by the name of *Arabes*; and at this day it is called *Azemia*, or *Ayaman*, the same name which they give to *Arabia Felix*. I might here adde something farther out of *Strabo*, concerning the strange plenty of Honey dropping down from the leaves of the trees, (like that 1 *Sam.* 14. 26.) the huge clusters of Grapes, and excellency of the Wines in the adjoining parts of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*: but (not to insist upon particulars) if we desire the exact ὑπερῷος of such a place as in every respect fully deserves the name of *Eden*, let us take that description which *Dionysius Afer* hath made of this Countrey about the Lake *Thonitis*, and the distance betwixt the Streams of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

Ὅρα δ' Εὐφράτη καὶ Τίγριδι ἰσθμόν τι γαῖα,  
 Τλωδὸς περικτίονες Μίανην περὶ μὲν ὀρέπουν.  
 Οὐ μύττοι κείνης γὰρ νομοὶ ἀνέστατο βί-  
 ος,  
 Οὐδ' ὅστις σὺν ἑλγῇ κερύνουχα Πᾶσα γαλαί-  
 ον,

Μέλου ἀρχαίοισιν ἱστοῖται· ἰδὲ μὲν ὧν  
 Παντοίῳ φύσει· αἰὲρ ἀδιόριστος καὶ  
 πῦρ.

Τοῖν βῆι καὶνι ἄρουσι πῶς, ἐν δὲ αἰθέρι  
 Πολλῶ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐρανίοις, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνδρῶν  
 Φύλλῳ, καλίστῳ καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοίῳ.

Which *Rhannius Fannius* the Grammarian  
 hath translated in *Latin* thus:

*Hoc tamen omne solum fluvius quod cingit  
 uterque*

*Indigena populi pro re dixere Medam-  
 nem,*

*Quæ medias amnes has terras flumine cin-  
 gunt;*

*Agricolis pariter, pastoribus atque fera-  
 cem:*

*Ubere tam lato florenti semina cuncta  
 Herbarumque thoris & gramina lata vi-  
 rescunt,*

*Et variis rami complentur fructibus alti.  
 Gens quoque præfulget claris in laudibus  
 illa:*

*Nam peperit multos celsâ virtute poten-  
 tes,*

*Atque adeò similes Diis immortalibus illos.*

Which Description suits so well to *Adam's*  
*Paradise,*

Paradise, both in regard of the excellent Pasturage, the plenty of all manner of Fruit-Trees, the admirable Fertility of the Soil, and the flowry Meadows, that by that ἀνδρῶν φύτλιν καλλιῶν πρὸς ἀθάνατον ὄψιν, *Hominum stirpem pulcherrimam & immortalibus similem*, we might suppose the Poet had a mind to represent before our eyes our First Parents inhabiting this happy place, while yet in their Innocency, created after the image and similitude of God. So that all this being laid together, we may well believe *Ab. Ortelius* had good reason for what he did, when he set the Countrey of *Eden* just in this place, *Tab. 1. Geograph.*

*Sac.*

# CHAP. XVI.

A more particular Consideration of the very place of the Situation of the Garden of Eden.

AS for the particular place of this Countrey where the Garden of Eden or Paradise it self was seated, though it might be deemed to trench too near upon Cu-

riosity to be too inquisitive after it; yet seeing *Moses* hath not neglected to give us some notes whereby to find out the Bounds of it, we need not fear to follow such a Guide, so long as we keep close to his footsteps. *Gen. 2.* he plainly intimates that the Garden-place was betwixt the Fountain of the River and the division of its Streams: for these are his words, v. 10. *And a River went out of Eden to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four Heads.* If that *וְעַד* ab indt be to be taken with its nearest reference, viz. the Garden, and not the more remote, viz. Eden, (as in all reason it ought to be taken) then the observation of *Danans* (formerly cited) is most sound and true, that the River immediately after its efflux out of its Fountain watered the Garden with one entire Chanel; and then, having past it, broke it self into these Streams. Whence it followeth, that, seeing the first Division of its Stream was (as *Pliny* hath told us) in the Region of *Arrhenne*, (the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Corrinna*) the place of the Garden was betwixt *Corra* (or *Charan*) and the Fountains of *Tigris*, in the midst whereof, and upon the bank

bank of the River, stood the *Tree of Life*, as may be gathered from *Gen.* 2. 9. *Rev.* 2. 7. and 22. 3. Just about which place when we see in *Ptolemy* the nitrous Lake *Tbospites* overflowing, it might not a little stumble us, if we did not remember, that as the Land of *Sodome*, which before its overthrow was like the *Garden of God* for deliciousness, *Gen.* 13. 10. was for the sin of the Inhabitants turned into a Sulphureous Lake; so might God in like manner change the most remarkable place of the *Earthly Paradise* for the sin of our first Parents. And this Conjecture (for I esteem it no more) may (I hope) pass with as good probability as theirs, who have imagined those fiery Flashings issuing out of some Lakes about *Assyria* or *Babylonia*, still to remain as testimonies of the *Cherubims flaying sword turning every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life*, *Gen.* 3. ult. But as this Conjecture helpeth us little, so neither doth it hinder us from searching (and haply finding) some remaining memory of the *Garden* about this place. And though I confess this attempt never entred into my thoughts at my first on-set upon this Question, as taking it then to be a Secret beyond

yond discovery, and being ready to rest satisfied if I could but find out the true Description of the River with its Heads, and the Region of *Eden*: yet having upon farther search more seriously weighed the names which Secular Authors give this part of the Region of *Eden*, and finding them very significant and argumentative to this purpose, I did not onely receive farther satisfaction about this particular doubt, but was filled with admiration also, that such pregnant Testimonies should so long time have escaped the observation of so many learned pens as have travelled in this Question. Three names are given by several Authors to that portion of ground which fell within the bounds of the Garden, as Moses hath set them. The first is that of *Ptolemy*, who calls that Region which lay next to the East of the Fountains of *Tigris* by the name of *Bagrandavene*, for so it is in the Edition of *Maginus*, *Lib. 5. Tab. 3. Ab Oriente verò fontium Tigridis Bagrandavene est*: and yet in the Map of the same Edition it is called *Bajavandena*. *Ortelius* in his *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus* calls it *Bagravandena*. *D. Mar. Niger*, *Geogr. Asia Com*, 3, calls it *Bagrandana*, and *Bagradavens*.



*vena*. And others have called it *Bagradena* and *Bagadena*. Secondly, *Procopius* usually calls the Countrey that lies about the *Thospian Lake*, and stretches it self Eastward to the River *Nymphæus*, by the name of *Arzane* or *Arxane*: others call it *Arsea*, and *Arsene*, (even as the *Thospian Lake* is by *Strabo* called *Arsena palus*.) Thirdly, *Strabo* himself calls the Countrey adjoining to it *Syspereiis*, or more frequently (rejecting the superfluous *S* prefixed to the beginning of the word, and serving for no other use but to obscure the true Etymology of it) *Hyspereiis*, and *Hysperatis*, and constantly placeth it betwixt *Armenia* and *Calachena*, which lay North-west of *Assyria*. For *lib. 11*. recording the fable of *Armenius* born at *Armenium* near the *Bebeian Lake* in *Thessaly*, and peopling this place under the conduct of *Jason*, he adds, *ἦν δὲ μὲν τῷ Ἀρμένιῳ, τὸν μὲν τῷ Ἀρμένιῳ οἰκῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Σουπείρῳ, ἢ καὶ Καλαχάινῃ καὶ Ἀδριαβάνῃ.* The like also he hath afterward in another place of the same Book, in which he farther tells us of a Town called *Cambala*, from whence *Alexander* sent *Memnon* to fetch great store of Gold. *Μέμνονα δ' οὐ μὲν τῇ Ταυριανῇ ἐστὶ χρυσῷ*  
x<sup>71</sup>

καὶ τὰ Καμβάλα, ἐφ' ἃ Μένονα ἐπιμήσαν  
 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἑταπόρην ἀνέχοντα δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἰσχυρίων, sunt & auri metalla in  
 Hyspiratide apud Cambala, ad qua Mem-  
 nonem misit Alexander: allata sunt autem  
 ab incolis. Now if we had the true  
 names of this Region set clear from all  
 ambiguity, I doubt not but we might spell  
 out of them some broken remembrance of  
 the Garden of Eden, and of Paradise. For  
 to examine the first, *Bagrandavena*, or ra-  
 ther (as most write it) *Bagravadena* or *Ba-  
 gradena*, who easily discerns not that it is  
 a compound word, and that the latter part  
 of its composition was *Adena*? so that  
 haply in its own proper language it was  
 written בטרה-ערנה, and what is this in effect  
 but ערנה-נ as *Moses* calls it? For ערנה  
 amongst the *Rabbins* is *pubescere*, and בטרה  
 applied to the description of a place is as  
 much as *ager pube variorum seminum latus*,  
 as *Amimianus* describes a Garden-spot near  
*Seleucia*, which very place (if I mistake  
 not) *Xenophon* calleth *ἑξιδανον*. And  
 hereto accords the *Hebrew* word בורר (from  
 whence no doubt the *Rabbins* had their  
 ערנה) which, as applied to mankind it sig-  
 nifies *Juvenis*, Ezek. 9. 6. so applied to  
 a place

a place it is *lectus, electus, selectus*: and so that Valley in Mount *Libanus*, where the *House of Eden*, mentioned *Amos* 1. 5. and the City *Paradisus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, stood, is by *Guilel. Tyrius* called *Vallis Bac-car* and *Vaccar*. And of the same importance is the name *Macedena*, which *Entropius* (formerly alledged) applieth to this place, as appears by the places mentioned with it, and the reducing it into the form of a Province by *Trajan*, with the Nations that lay about it, viz. *Anthemusium*, the *Arabians*, the *Quinque Regiones Transi-gritana*, (so often mentioned in following Histories) &c. Now what is *Macedena*, but מִנְּרָ-עֵדֶן? and is all one in signification with *Bagradena* or *Bacaradena*, and in them both as much as *pretiosissima vel selectissima portio* Hedenis: and what else was that but the Garden? Or if we may suppose *Entropius* called it *Macedena* in stead of *Bacedena* or *Bagedena*, extricating the 'R, (and so it is written by some) even this also comes up to our purpose, and fully speaks out the thing we seek for, viz. *Hortus Edenis*. For the Eastern Nations even to this day call a Garden *Baga*, as *Petrus Texeira* in his Itinerary tells us: For dicourfing  
of

of the Original of the name of that famous City *Bagdat*, he affirms that it took this denomination from hence, because it was formerly a *Garden-spot*. *Nomen autem invenisse putatur à Baga, Persis Horto, quia primo tantum Bagadaden, id est, Horti, ibidem fuerant.* And in all likelihood they derived this word from the *Hebrew* בָּגַד which signifieth *esca, prada, cibus*: and by changing *Gimel* into *Tzajin* it is made בָּגַד *Ezek. 7. 21.* from which בָּגַד or בָּגַד I suppose the corrupted word *Bajavandena* receives most properly the former part of its composition. So that which way soever we turn it, the memory of *the Garden of Eden* may be retrived from this name. And no less clearly may it be gathered from the second name given by others to this Region, *viz. Arzane, Arsane, Arsea, &c.* For what more apt *Radix* can we find for it then אֶרֶז, which among the *Rabbins* signifies *Hortus*, even as אֶרֶז signifies *Hortulanus*, as *Buxtorfius* teacheth us in his *Lexicon Rabbinico-Philosophicum*? and so accordingly *Hesychius* interprets *Ἀπορία λειψέει* and what *λεῖψος* is himself after tells us, that it is *ἀρδύος ῥόνος, locus floridus*: and yet in the next word *λεῖψος* he tells

tells us also that it signifies ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰ νύμφαι, ἐν τῇ αἰ νύμφαι ἐν τοῖς ἀλυσσιν. Both which significations how well they may be applied to the place we now discourse of, will appear, if we consider that this Region was a part of *Sophane*, which among other significations is also translated ἀπὸ τοῦ, *Septentrio*, Ezek. 47. 17. And for those αἰ νύμφαι he speaks of, that they are to be found ἐν τοῖς ἀλυσσιν, in the flowry Meadows of this Region, we need not doubt, seeing that name also is to be found hereabout. For not onely have we the River *Nymphæus*, (so often remembred in *Procopius*, and called by *Pliny* by a correspondent name *Parthenias*;) but the same *Pliny* tells us also, that the place where *Tigris* riseth again (after it hath run some space under ground) is called *Nymphæum*, which renders it very probable that the same name was attributed to the Region that lay about it. Now if we would take the notion of *Paradise* under a Heathen word, we cannot have a better then *Νυμφαῖον*. For the description that is given of it is so suitable to that which they make of a *Persian Paradise*, that we may safely affirm they are but *Synonyma's* of the same thing: for as that,

so

so this was no other then a *delicious Valley* abounding with all the choice rarities and delights of Nature, where Emperours and Kings had their retiring Palaces and Houses of pleasure. We might justifie this by that *Nymphaum* in the coasts of *Apollonia*, remembred by *Strabo lib. 7. Plutarch, in Vita Sylla, &c.* as also that about *Stagira* mentioned by the same *Plutarch, in Vit. Alexand.* *Ludum eis & studiis locum Nymphæum prope Miezam assignavit; ubi & hac ætate sedes Aristotelis lapideas, & ambulationes umbrosas monstrant.* But I shall content my self, onely to transcribe the observation that *Leunclavius* hath made upon this word, which is abundantly sufficient to give us the true importance of .it. *Pand. Hist. Turc. n. 153. Prator Græciæ noster cujusdam regii vel imperatoris palatii meminit, cui nomen dat Nymphæum. Ab eo non procul dissitum describit locum, tali Teggiurum vel Imperatorum Prato rebus omnibus simillimum. Alicubi dē Nymphæo: Michael, ait, Palæologus Imperator Nymphæum pervenerat, quo loco recreare se solebant Imperatores, postquam Constantinopoli (à Flandris) in exilium ejecti fuerant. Alibi verò Planitiem vel Pratum ipsum*

ipsum describit his verbis: Quum dies aliquot (Imperator, Joannes sc. Ducas Vatzes) Phlebiis exegisset, Clyzomenen profectus, (hoc loco nomen est) ibidem tentoria figi jussit. Nam isthic Imperatores & Nymphæo digressi commorari solent, majoremque Veris partem transigere. Quippe totus ille locus mera planities est, qua graminis copiam, compluribus equis sufficientem, producit. Aquis etiam irrigatur, ac in propinquo multos pagos & Civitates habet, à quibus ad victum necessaria res copiose subministrantur. But what shall we say to the third name which Strabo gives this Region, viz. *Sysperetis*, and otherwise *Hysperatis*? is there any thing in that also sounding this way? Yes very much, if we purge it from those superfluties which the fault of some mens tongues and pens have stuffed it with; I mean the double S, which seems to have thrust it self into this word in the same manner that it hath done into the name of our neighbour-Kingdom of *Spain*. For as that at the first was *Pania*, (as *Pliny* testifies l. 3. c. 1.) after by the addition of an S it became *Spania*, (and so *S. Paul* calls it *Rom. 15. 24.*) and at length by prefixing an article it was

M      made

made *Hispania*: so it might (and we are persuaded it did) befall this word, from which if we reject the superfluous letter, it will become *Hypereitis* or *Hyperatis*, or rather, as it was written in its own native language, *הוא פרדים*, and what (I pray) is this but *Ipse Paradisus*? And I am the more confirmed in this, because *Strabo* in like manner calls that place in *Libya* where those Gardens (so much famed by the Poets) were supposed to be situate, *Syspereitis*, which by others are commonly called *Hesperides Horti*: and that they took their name from *הוא פרדים* is as credible, as it is certain that they took their conceit from some broken notions of *Moses's Paradise*. And I hope I may be excused if upon this ground I take liberty to conjecture, that the City *Pherendis*, which *Ptolemy* placeth near about the Fountains of *Tigris*, was anciently written *Pheredis*, it being so common for the letter *N* to thrust it self into words whereof it is not Radicall: and so this also in its own proper character should be *פרדים*, which perhaps was the *Metropolis* of this *Region*, and communicated in the same name with it. And I am the rather emboldened to write this, because near about the



the same place was the *City Heden* seated, if *Petrus Bizarus* misinform us not; for he placeth it nigh *Mount Cordan*, (or, as he calls it, *Cortestan*) which is the right situation of this *City* in *Ptolemy. Hist. Pers. lib. 12. Sunt etiam hac loca infrascripta, videlicet Combalechum, Bastemum, Mula-sia, Vanla, Dresherinum, & Saltamatum; qua loca sita sunt in regione vulgò Chimeidata, & ut plurimum posita inter Euphratem & Tigrim, ad latus Montis quem incolæ Cortestanum, nos Taurum appellamus. His quoque adjiciunt Adenam, Urbem praeclaram & divitem, in qua sunt plurima textrina lini gossipii, & jacet ad latus ejusdem Montis, &c.* Indeed *Stephanus* *Ἐδδάρων*, mentioning a *City* about these parts which he calls *Ἐδδάρων*, (from *Eddanus* a Captain, as he imagined) finds it seated upon *Euphrates*, and inhabited by *Phœnicians*: but the name *Euphrates* is ambiguous, (as hath been noted) and it might well be there were more *Heden's* then one in this Region, even as *Pliny* also remembreth both *Anthemus* and *Anthemusia*. As for the store of Gold that *Alexander* is said to find at *Cambala* a *City* of *Hysperatis*, that will seem nothing incredible, if we remem-

ber what was formerly said of the River *Chrysorrhoeas*, which taking its spring about this Region, had that name given it from its golden streams. Nor is it to be neglected, that the Region called *Mithracina* (where the famous breed of *Nisæan horses*, yearly sent by the *Satrapa* of those Territories to the *Persian Emperour*, were kept) seems by *Strabo*, and is by *D. Marinus Niger* expressly affirmed to be about this place: which as it is an argument of the Fertility of this Soil, in regard of the pleasant Meadows and excellent Pasturage here to be found, so it testifies in what high esteem they held this portion of ground, in that they entitled it to their great *God Mithra*, (to whom also Horses were sacred, 2 *Kings*, 23. 11.) for מִתְרָא קִנָּה is as much as *Ager vel possessio Mithra*. And this also corresponds very well to another title usually given to *Paradise* in the Scriptures, wherein it is divers times called אֲדָמָה *Hortus Domini*. But I am very sensible how obnoxious these *Grammatical Criticisms* will be to the censure of such as are willing to shew themselves pertinacious, whom we must not presume to persuade to accept such arguments for *Apodictical Demonstrations*: yet if they

they will consider, that these are as good Arguments as the nature of the Subject we handle will well afford or bear, and that *Notation* is one of our *Logical Topicks*, from which sound Arguments may sometime be drawn, (forasmuch as *Nomen* may prove *Notamen*, the natures of things otherwhile agreeing with their names, according to that of the Poet,

*Conveniunt rebus nomina saepe suis*)

they will give us leave (I hope) to make use of it to as much service as here we intend to apply it to. For it is not the Etymology of a few names onely that hath induced us to this belief, but we have farther for the confirmation of it a constant Tradition successively continued in these parts, that hereabout was the place of *Adam's Paradise*. The firm belief whereof gave (no doubt) great advantage of credulity to that *joculatory Paradise*, (seated in some Valley amongst these Mountains,) by the allurements whereof that notable *Impostour Aladules* engaged so many seduced persons to his service, and thereby rendred himself formidable to the mightiest Monarchs of his time. A story well known in the *Turkish Annals*, and touched upon by those

who have written the Life of *Selymus*, and is related at large by our Countrey-man Mr. *Cartwright* in his Travels through those parts. Nor was this Opinion brought in by the *Turks*, but entertained long before by the Christians; yea (if my authority fail me not) even in the times before the *Flood*, at what time S. *Chrysostome* was persuaded the place of *Paradise* was well known. The Author that affirms this is *Methodius*: a fabulous Author, (I confess) and full of dross, among which notwithstanding some grains of Gold may be found, so that if his Traditions be well sifted, they may sometimes become helpful to us to spell out divers useful Antiquities, which we may in vain seek for in many a better Writer. Now this ancient Author (*in lib. Revel.*) speaking of the death of *Seth*, and the secession of his posterity from the posterity of *Cain*, hath among other things this remarkable passage: *Mortuo Seth separavit se Cognatio ejus à sobole Caini, redieruntque ad natale solum. Nam & Pater eorum vivens prohibuerat nè miscerentur. Et habitavit Cognatio Seth in Cordan monte, Paradiso terrestri proximo.* If the terrestrial *Paradise* were near the Mount *Cordan*,

dan, and that *Mount Cordan* or *Gordianus* stood in the same place where *Ptolemy* hath set it; then we may rest secured, that the happy seat of our First Parents Habitation was at or about the very place that we have described. And now to conclude: Though all these evidences laid together (which surely are as great as well may be expected in a Subject of this nature) have not raised our confidence to such a height as some have attained to, (and, as we suppose, upon far weaker grounds;) yet we verily believe that if they whom God hath blessed with abler parts, more skill in the Tongues, History, Geography, &c. a larger freedom from other employments and distractions, with a more plentiful supply of Books, and other accommodations for such a study, (all which we want) would resume this Argument, and apply their pens to the farther search of this *not-unnecessary Question*, they might here (sooner then in any other place yet discovered) find out *the true place of the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise.*

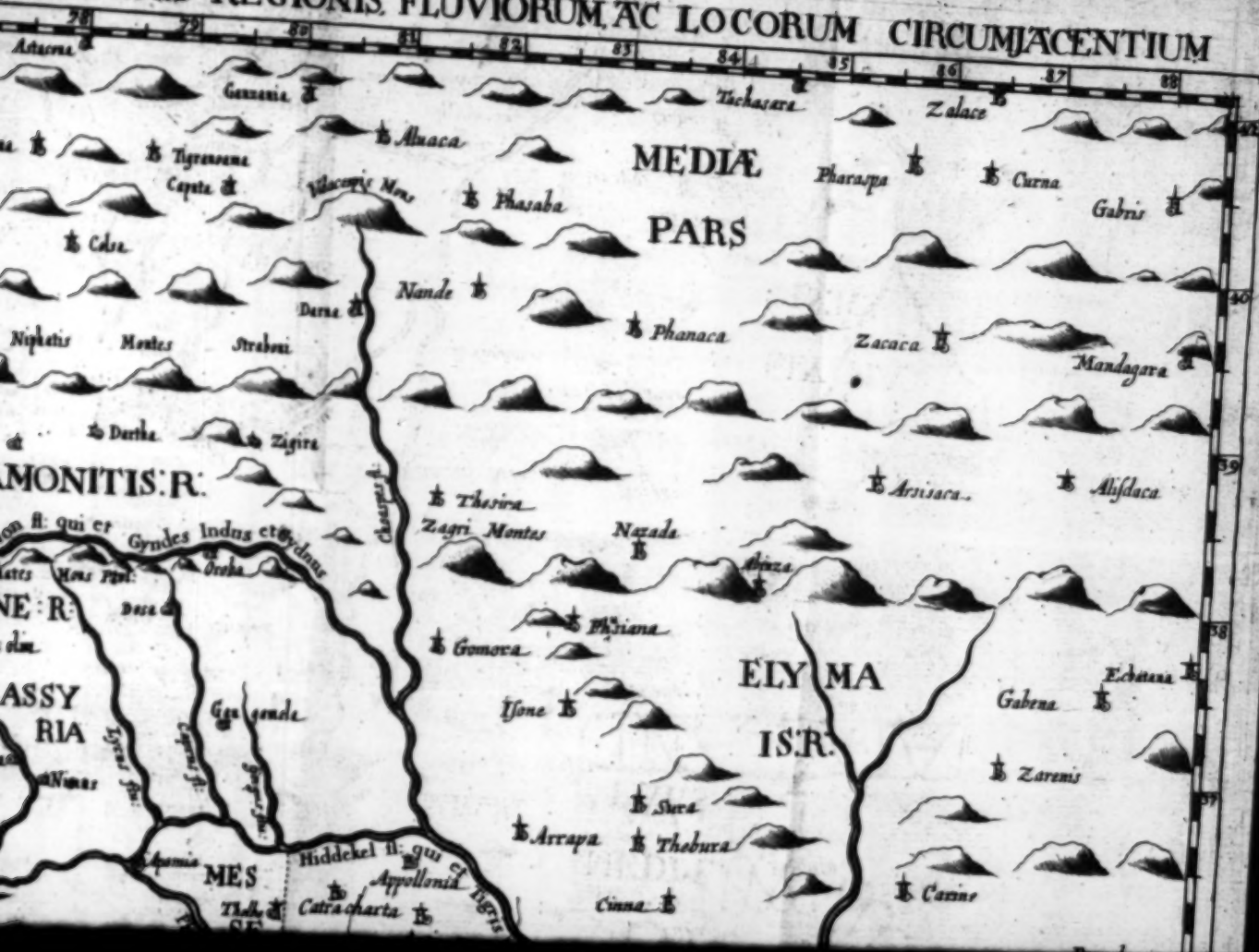
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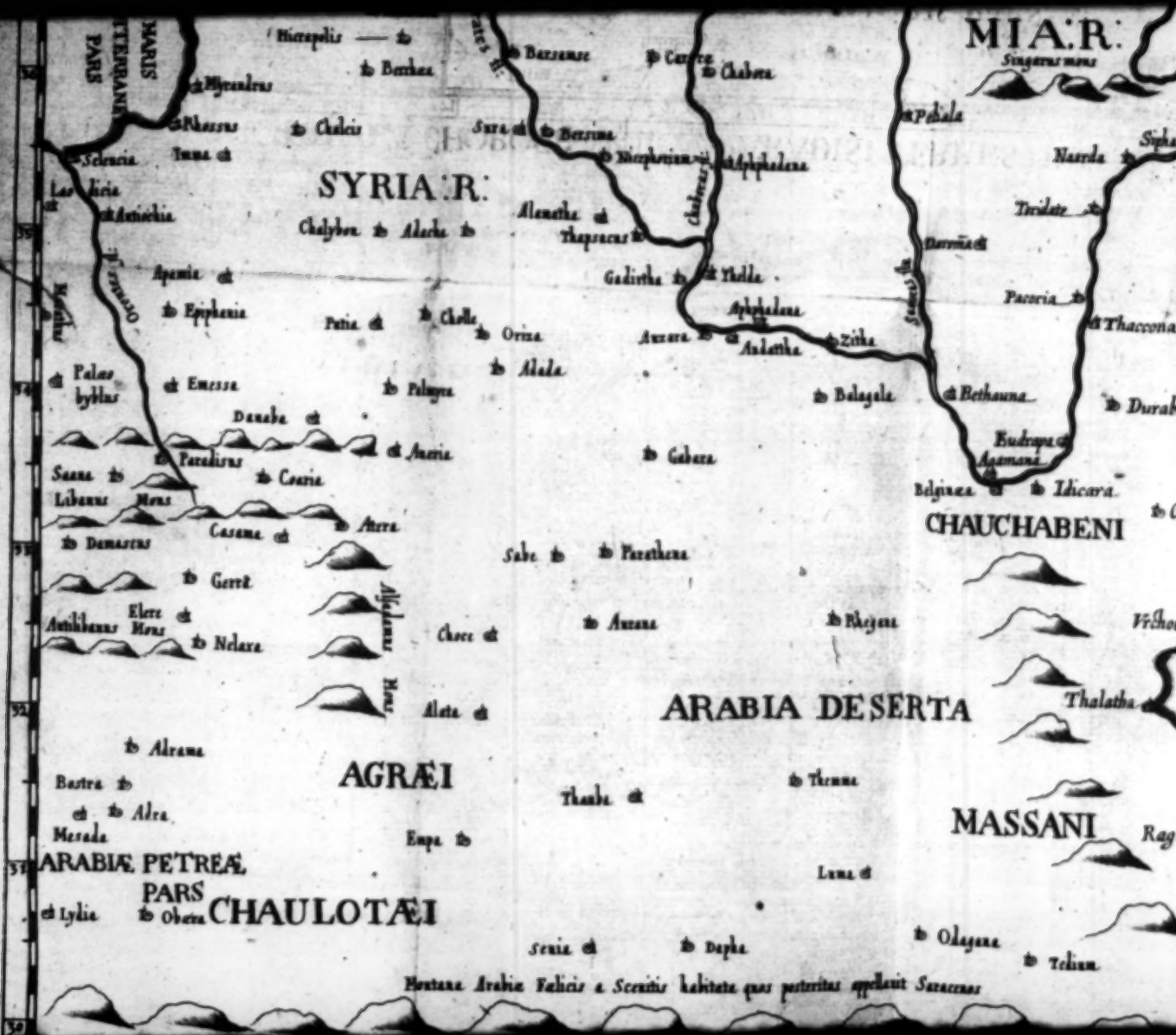
ΤΥΠΟΣ SIVE TABULA CHOROGRAPHICA PARADISI TERRESTRIS. HE



HEDENIS REGIONIS FLUVIORUM AC LOCORUM CIRCUMJACENTIUM







SYRIA R.

MIAR.

Singulus mons

CHAUCHABENI

ARABIA DESERTA

AGRÆI

MASSANI

ARABIA PETRÆA

PARS

CHAULOTÆI

Montana Arabiae Felicis & Scenitis habitata quas posteritas appellavit Saracenas



